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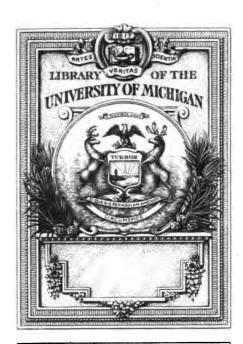
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THE GIFT OF
Prof. W. H. Hobbs

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# **AWAKE! AMERICA**

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Bringing the Truth Home to Us. Will This Awake Sleepy America?

By Jay N. Darling in the Des Moines "Register."

# AWAKE! AMERICA

# OBJECT LESSONS AND WARNINGS



Trustee American Defense Society, Author of "A Searchlight on Germany"

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
THE AMERICAN DEFENSE SOCIETY

"Then whosoever heareth the sound of the trumpet and taketh not warning; if the sword come and take him away, his blood shall be upon his own head."

Ezekiel XXXIII, 4.

NEW YORK
MOFFAT, YARD & COMPANY
1918

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#### DEDICATED IN MEMORIAM

# TO THE LATE MAJOR AUGUSTUS PEABODY GARDNER, U. S. A. OF MASSACHUSETTS

THE MAN WHO WAS AWAKE
in 1915 and 1916;
Who vainly did his utmost to
arouse a sleeping Congress, and who
resigned from the House of Representatives to join the Army.
Died of pneumonia at Camp Wheeler,
January 14, 1918.
May God give this nation
more Men like him.

# ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1863

"We accepted this war; we did not begin it. We accepted it for an object, and when that object is accomplished the war will end, and I hope to God it will never end until that object is accomplished."

# WOODROW WILSON, 1917

"The world must be made safe for democracy.

"To such a task we can dedicate our lives, our fortunes, everything we are, everything we have, with the pride of those who know the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and might for the principles that gave her birth."

# THEORDORE ROOSEVELT, 1917

"Highminded men and women should brace their souls against the Menace of Peace without Victory for the Right. It is worse than idle to talk of a League to Enforce Peace for the Future, unless we, who are partners in the League to Smite Down Wrong in the Present, with iron will carry the war through to overwhelming triumph."

Gift Phof W.H. Hows 9-W-40

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## GERMANY'S SHIPPING SCHEME

How many of the people of North and South America fully comprehend Germany's long-headed scheme for her ocean commerce after the war?

Ever since the war began, and the Hun navy scuttled off the seven seas and cravenly hid behind its mine-fields, Germany's submarines have been destroying as rapidly as possible the commercial ships of all nations, friend and foe alike! At the same time, in her own ports she has been building ships as rapidly as possible.

Germany's plan is to destroy the ships of all nations until at the close of the war no nation will have a better merchant marine than Germany, nor any better chance for world commerce by sea!

Here is the tale of the ships of friendly, neutral nations, sunk by Germany prior to April 6, 1917: Norwegian ships, 436; Danish, 114; Swedish, 101; Dutch, 76; Greek, 60; Spanish, 35; American, 20.

And already Germany is planning to demand in the terms of peace a commercial treaty with America containing a "most favored nation" clause! If we yield it, it will mark for us the beginning of national decadence.

#### **PREFACE**

"The world must be made safe for democracy."

Yes. But is democracy competent to protect itself against robber and cut-throat nations?

Over the blood-soaked and shell-riven fields of Northern France, fifty thousand cannon are roaring this very day; and two million gallant men who represent the three great democracies of the world,— England, France and America,— are fighting and dying to make the answer "Yes." May God give victory to Right, and not to Might.

France was awake, and ready. England was only half awake, in 1914; and already she has paid a fearful price for being half asleep, and oblivious to the fact that in comparison with her one mortal enemy she had practically no army. In view of her close touch with the Hun, the people of England should have been far wiser than they were.

The onset of Germany for world power and conquest found America blissfully ignorant of German character and aspirations, grotesquely helpless on land, wallowing in a riot of luxury and extravagance, and sound asleep to impending dangers. Worse than that, it took dynamite, fire and bloodshed to arouse the American people from their slumber; and yet we were, of all people, popularly supposed to be quick on the draw!

On our part the years 1915 and 1916 were a wild orgy of stupidity and blundering. This book is not intended to be a chronology of Folly. Its only aim is to point out certain dangers, and to drive home the wicked folly of sleeping on duty.

I shall not catalogue the blunders of Congress and the Cabinet, nor even list the names of the men who are most to blame for the disaster of our unpreparedness on May 6, 1917, when we went through the motions of declaring war on Germany. That was the most ghastly farce of modern history; but we had to go through with it!

Those who write the history of this Great Tragedy will not be so lenient as I, when they come to their task. But at one point the hand of the historian will falter and draw back in horror. That will be when the time comes to place the blame for the great catastrophe to Christian civilization. On the side of the defenders of the rights of man, rotten-hearted Russia is most to blame for the slaughter of 1918, and stupid, sleepy, stall-fed America stands next to her.

Today the question is: Will Germany win on the battle-fields of Flanders? Will the Hun armies capture Paris, the Channel ports, and devastate the whole of France?

For three long years the Leper of Potsdam has been pointing to God as his ally and special partner; and he is doing it to-day with an insistence and unction that is enough to stagger the Faith of the civilized world.

Have the inherent weaknesses of this liberty-spoiled democracy played into the hands of brutal Germany

to the ruin of the world? Is there any sacrifice that we now can make that will save civilization from the accursed Hun?

Time alone can tell. At this moment there is much here at home that we wish were otherwise. Of these things, perhaps the less said in print, the better. We must strive to correct certain things under the rose.

Out of the welter of today's bloodshed and havoc, only one fact stands out clearly and sharply, like the top of a mountain peak illumined by the golden glory of the setting sun while the zone below is shrouded in gloom and shadow. We have got to help WIN this war! Nothing less will answer. Let it be one more year, or twenty more years, we can not stop until the Hun is beaten,—until Right triumphs over Might. Better a thousand times that we die fighting, like Belgium and Serbia and Montenegro, than yield to the military dragons of Prussia and "the people" of Germany.

With "the German people" triumphant we would indeed have a vast hell upon the earth; and in that case, to decent people Life would not be worth living.

WILLIAM T. HORNADAY.

University Heights,

New York, March 25. 1918.

#### INTRODUCTION

THE NATION'S CRISIS AND THE PROPHET'S DUTY

From a Sermon Preached by the Rev. C. W. Petty, Creston Avenue Baptist Church, Fordham Heights, New York City, on October 21, 1917

I would have you understand and appreciate the Prophet's place in the hour of his Nation's crisis. It is a timely consideration, for our own wonderful country is facing the harshest experiences and the darkest problems of her history. Where to-day is the place that the Prophet of God and the Ambassador of Christ should find his niche? What shall be the content of the message which he brings to this startled, confused day?

The mere preacher of platitudes in a day like this is a mere time-server. Any man who stands before God for the people and does not carry in his breast a broken heart, has no place in the ministry of our age. The world is on fire! The ideals for which the centuries have struggled and bled and died are in jeopardy! There is hate and sorrow and death about us. What shall the Prophet of God do? What shall he say?

You know, and I know alas too well, that there is an inclination on the part of the Church to muzzle her prophets when great issues are at stake. "Preach the Gospel," says the pro-German to-day, "and leave the war and its administration to the temporal authorities."

"Proclaim peace and decry slaughter," says the Pacifist, "and let us bear the consequences, no matter how unusual they be." "Give your attention to your calling, and the defense of a forgotten orthodoxy," advises the plutocrat who grows rich upon the sufferings of men, and hoards up gold while babies cry for milk, and the poor shiver with cold. "Do not attempt to interpret the world crisis as it touches the spiritual aspirations of the world," calls out the slacker. "It makes us uncomfortable; and we read about the war and hear about the war enough during the week. When we come to church we want to rest."

Rest! Rest, at a time like this! Listen to me:

That Prophet of God who cries "Peace! Peace!" when there is no peace, is before God, a liar. That man who has given himself to the ministry and purposely avoids the proclamation of the Truth about the War; who feels he has no responsibility to decry the unholy cruelties of our enemy; who finds it possible to evade an expression of contempt for the gross injustice and diabolical unrighteousness that has precipitated this conflagration; who does not identify himself with the crushed and broken manhood who stand between us and the curse of Pan-germanism; I say the Prophet who intentionally evades these moral and spiritual problems is a traitor to his country, and is guilty of treason both to God and to the people he serves.

And for the minister of the Church of Christ who has no convictions in these matters; who lolls in his study chair, and reads the contentions and disputes of yesterday to rehash them for his congregation; who dismisses his responsibilities in this hour by assuring himself that he has no obligations as a Patriot; who will pander to the slacker and the enemies within our gates by giving the assent of silence to all the wrongs that are to be righted by this war, is beneath contempt, and words fail to categorize his disgrace. He will answer to God for his cowardice when the day of revelation comes at the bar of Eternal Righteousness.

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# PART I NATIONAL DROWSINESS AND THE CHASTENING ROD

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# PART I NATIONAL DROWSINESS AND THE CHASTENING ROD

will know of an absolute certainty that Germany began this war for loot and territorial conquest, and the destruction of Britain's hated supremacy on the seven seas. Above all, look at Russia as she is to-day, with the Huns at her throat, sucking her blood.

Whoever says that on the side of America, or her Allies, that this is in any sense a "capitalists' war," is a liar.

Any peace such as the Huns to-day are willing to make,—"without indemnities and without annexations,"—would leave Germany so thoroughly unwhipped and so firmly fixed in the Balkan-Turkish saddle that she would dominate all Europe. She would "rattle the sword in the scabbard," flaunt her "shining armor" and shake her "mailed fist," every day in the year, until she had made ready to begin another war for the expansion of Germany, for the crushing of hated England, and to establish German supremacy over all.

As France, England and Belgium already have done, the American nation now is taking the acid test, to determine whether her republic-born people are mentally, morally and physically fit to survive against a militant and rapacious autocracy. Great Britain, France, Belgium and Italy have elected to fight, and to perish utterly rather than bow the knee to the bloody wolves and mad-dogs of Berlin.

If the representatives of the American people in Congress and the White House had not possessed the good sense and the courage to pass the draft act, and back it up with billions of money, their failure to do those two things would have marked this nation for its grave, and measured the corpse of the Goddess of Liberty for the undertaker.





"I HAVE DONE THIS BEFORE!"

By Louis Raemakers, Copyright, 1917, by the Century Company, and Reproduced by permission.

Any nation whose men are unwilling to die in its defense is unfit to exist as a separate political unit. Robert G. Ingersoll declared that "such a nation is a blot on the map of the world." If our country had failed to enter this war, we should thereafter have advocated the annexation of the United States by some stronger nation.

As matters now stand, this war can be fully won only through the efforts of the United States; and those efforts are two years behind time. To-day at least 51 per cent. of the final result depends upon us. The marvelous and complete mobilization of every man, woman and child in Germany will yet win the war for the Huns unless the American people similarly arouse and quickly pour into Europe resistless tides of

# MEN, MONEY, MUNITIONS, SHIPS, COAL AND FOOD.

sufficient to wear out and beat down Germany, and turn the scale. It is the side with the strongest grip and the longest staying power that will win this war!

Our government is striving to handle the first five of those six factors. In time, the best men of the Nation will be called to the job. The sixth factor depends upon the Private Individual! If he fails, as an individual, then the government will have to mobilize Him and Her, and win out through the food-card and the compulsory ration system. Depend upon it, the private individual will not be permitted to wreck the cause of Humanity by drowsiness, slothfulness, folly or greed; and the slackers of America can take that fact or leave it.

This war must be won for Liberty and Humanity.

And we must fight, and work, and "go without," long enough to win 51 per cent. of it. Both as a nation and as individuals we must win or die. But as yet, fully one-half the people of this country are half asleep, and untouched by the great conflict. One-half our people are pursuing their pleasures and their rockribbed extravagances just as if the world were not on fire, and just as if there were no traitors surrounding us at home.

In the tremendous crisis that has been forced upon us, the first essential is broad wakefulness to the dangers and the duties of the situation. If this nation ONLY had been awake in the winter, spring and summer of 1915, and the winter of 1916,— even as much as it is now! Had it been so, the lives of 500,000 gallant soldiers of England, France and our other allies would have been saved! There would have been no collapse and chaos in Russia, no German victory in northern Italy, and a finish would come in 1918.

Do you doubt this? If so, stop and think for just one moment.

Had we been as ready to fight on April 6, 1917, even as much as we will be ready by April 6, 1918, this terrible war would have been shortened by at least one year!

It is heartbreaking to think now what our sleepiness and supineness of 1915 and 1916 has cost England, France, Russia and Italy in men, saying nothing of the billions of money. And our sleepiness and our slowness on the draw has not lessened our own losses of life, or lightened our own financial burdens, by so much as one American soldier or one twenty-dollar bill! Our folly has been a colossal injury to our best

friends and defenders, and of no earthly benefit to ourselves.

At this moment (January 1, 1918), outside the largest cities an appallingly large majority of the American people are not yet fully awake, and are not in any sense mobilized for our struggle with Germany. The people of the large cities who have plenty of good newspapers are alert, but a large percentage of those who dwell in towns, in villages and in the country are far from being wide awake.

The finest way in the world to wake up any man is to give him something helpful to do. Thus far the only calls that have reached every man have been just four in number: (1) to enlist in the Army, (2) to increase the food supply, (3) to subscribe to Liberty bonds, and (4) to subscribe to the Red Cross fund.

The campaign for Liberty bonds has reached and aroused a far greater number of individuals than any other call thus far made. About 9,500,000 persons subscribed to the second loan. But, notwithstanding all that has been done in those three ways, there are yet millions of people who have not yet been reached and aroused by any one of them! There are millions of American men and women who as yet have not begun to realize the fact that the nation is in the initial stages of a great struggle, and that the war MUST be won by the Allies, even though to accomplish it we may have to throw the whole nation into the struggle, just as Germany has done!

We can equal the devotion and efficiency of the Huns, if we will!

Let me now offer a bit of evidence by way of illustration.

I have before me seventeen very abusive letters that have come to Charles Noel Douglas, of Brooklyn, who edits a department in "Comfort," a magazine having a very wide circulation in the West and South. These letters were written to Mr. Douglas, a former Socialist, because he is a thoroughly patriotic American, because he hates the Bloody Kaiser, and because he writes with the inspired Punch of Conviction and Courage.

These letters are extremely interesting, partly because of their wide geographical distribution. Here are the localities represented:

### In the North.

Amana, Iowa.
Gage, Okla.
Plantsville, Conn.
Boise, Idaho.
Nampa, Idaho.
Orofino, Idaho.
New Britain, Conn.
Danville, Wash.
Rib Lake, Wis.
Markeenan, Wis.

### In the South.

Palma Sola, Fla. Guard, Texas. Cooledge, Texas. Memphis, Tenn. Dyer, Tenn. Monroe, N. C. Roswell. N. M.

Without one exception, these 17 letters indicate a remarkable depth of ignorance regarding the real causes of the war, of the reasons why America has joined the Allies, of the reasons why President Wilson is no longer for "peace," and of the danger to liberty and human rights. Several of them violently express the same old hatred of England that was fairly common during the first ten years after the Civil War, but which

with intelligent people for forty years at least has been a dead and forgotten thing.

I regret to state that the most of these sample letters were written by native Americans, and that only a few bear the earmarks of German descent. The ignorance they reveal is positively alarming, because such people are so difficult to reach and to influence. Long ago they should have reacted to the patriotic editorials of Mr. Douglas.

At the present time there are many things in sight to hearten and encourage those who have the most faith in the stability of the American people. Our President, our Cabinet and Congress are at last awake, and going full speed ahead. A million or so of America's best business and professional men are eagerly, joyously and determinedly devoting themselves, their time, their labor and their money to causes calculated to "help our government," to help win this war quickly, and to secure a peace that will last. When I see before me the magnificent examples of the sometimes-flouted men of "Wall Street," and of the lawyers and doctors and professors and business men of a hundred kinds, I would be ashamed to do any less than "my best"!

Let the voice of the alien socialist who says, "This is a capitalist's and rich man's war!" be still, forever; for he is an unmitigated liar, and the truth is not in him. This is a war of all the American People—except the alien socialists, the I. W. W. miscreants, the slackers and the militant pacifists. The manner in which "rich" men and women, and their sons and daughters, have enlisted to fight, to build hospitals at the front and to take care of the wounded, is

beyond all ordinary terms of praise. Assuredly "The rich," so zealously hated by the anarchists and their associates have made good, and the blatant alien socialists are all in the ranks of the slackers and pro-Germans.

The success of the huge Liberty bond loans is very gratifying, but, save for our money, "We have not yet begun to fight!" A little later on we can and cheerfully will duplicate all those Liberty bonds; and we will bear the war taxes without whining.

One excellent sign of the times has been the cheerful and even joyous spirit in which our drafted young Americans have donned their uniforms, shouldered their guns and marched away. When it was a case of volunteering, many of the boys lingered shivering on the brink, and feared to launch away. But when Uncle Sam came up, put his hand on the shoulder of the Boy, and said: "Son, I need You!" the Boy instantly was born into new life. His hesitancy dropped away like a falling garment. He straightened up, clicked his heels together, saluted, and reached for the gun.

All that the Boy needed was the assurance, from the Government itself, that Uncle Sam needed him personally.

As Soldiers and as Men, our Boys are the flower of our young manhood, and as fine as the Finest. We know that they are fit to fight alongside the Belgians who already have won imperishable fame, the gallant Britons from the Isles and the Colonies of the Seven Seas, the glorious soldiers of France who have stopped and held back twice their number of Huns, and the incredible mountain-peak fighters of Italy.

In our situation here at home, there is one great, ever present fear and cause for fear. It is the large and dangerous collection of cranks and pacifists that are crazy for quick peace, already advocating and keen to accept "peace at any price," and peace sans honor. They reck not of the future of our nation and our people, of the rights of the world at large or the future liberty of man.

Three years ago I shouted at the top of my individual voice, and from every high point I could command, "Awake! Prepare!" Nobody paid any attention to me; but for all that, I was right!

Now, I shout again: "No peace talk until Germany is WHIPPED! And even then, no talk of peace without annexations and without indemnities.' Germany must PAY for her war and her crimes."

If the Huns get back their lost colonies, there will be hell in Africa forever after. If they pay no indemnities, then Germany is not whipped; and she will emerge from the war a three-quarters winner, and keen to finish the job. Make no mistake about that!

In 1916 "the Leper of Potsdam" had the effrontery to say to our Ambassador, Mr. Gerard:

"After this war I will stand no nonsense from America!"

Now, after that insulting menace and threat will all the people of our land awake, or not?

### CHAPTER II

## Acid Tests of National Honor

Across the continent of North America, from the Atlantic Ocean to Puget Sound, there stretches an international boundary line 3,000 miles long. It is almost wholly imaginary. It is not defended by a single gun, nor even a canoe of war. It never has been violated; and it never will be violated.

It represents a "gentlemen's agreement"; and it is as strong as the Rock of Gibraltar.

England and America have had, since 1812, many disputes and differences; but all of them have been settled in a gentlemanly way. There was neither bluff nor bluster; and the loser always has paid up like a gentleman.

That international boundary reminds me of another, of a very different character, which lies between little Belgium and the Big Bully of Europe.

It must have been about 1904 that King Leopold II foregathered with Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany, for a peace-promoting love-feast. They met in a quiet spot, fell upon each other's necks, and wept tears of joy and fidelity down each other's backs.

Now, Leopold II was no saint; but he knew a hawk from a handsaw. In the parting moment he got a whiff of Wilhelm's warlike breath; and it gave him chills of fear. He hurried back to his capital, summoned his cabinet and his military engineers, and ordered them with all haste to build on his eastern boundary a chain of forts, of the strongest and most modern type, to repel the German invasion of Belgium that he foresaw would come in the near future.

That was done. And Belgium raised and trained as large a standing army as that small nation could stand.

Some publicist has stated in print, very recently, that in 1914 "Belgium was taken unawares." That is an error. Belgium was fully awake; and for her she was well prepared. Had it been otherwise, the world well knows what would have happened. The brutes of Germany would have captured Paris in three weeks as planned, taken the whole channel coast down to Havre, and to-day France would be the robbed and impoverished vassal of the Lepers of Potsdam. In the . off-go, it was the wide-awake preparedness of brave and gallant little Belgium that thus far has saved France! Coupled with all that was Belgium's resolute will to defend her national honor, regardless of consequences to herself. And it was that exalted and heroic moral standard that led to the rape and murder and pillage of that magnificent nation by the bloody barbarians of Berlin, who were, and who still are, dead to all sense of honor, justice and decency, and are very savage toward the Belgians for balking their game.

In 1914, except as to her Navy and Lords Roberts and Kitchener, England was asleep. Her available army was a mere skeleton. No wonder bloody William of Germany spoke of it as a "contemptible little army." Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener had begged and prayed the government and the people of Great Britain to make a real army; but the Slumber God

held them in thrall, and at that time Mr. Britling was stone deaf.

Lucky it was for all civilized mankind that the case of British sea power was exactly the reverse of that of the British Army. The Fleet was ready, even when the Teutonic horde crossed the Belgian boundary and opened fire with their "Big Berthas" on the steel-clad forts of Liege and Namur.

On a few occasions France, also, has been spoken of as having been "unready;" but that is not true. Nevertheless, despite the bitter experience of France in 1871, she knew Germany so imperfectly that she believed the gallant Knights of the Scrap of Paper really would respect their solemn treaty with Belgium, and never attack France through that neutral territory. Because of that, France had fortified her German frontier only, and had left the Belgian frontage practically defenseless.

And all the time Germany, the "dirty fighter," had craftily planned to sweep through Belgium in order to strike France below the belt.

The army of France was a good one; and it was ready. Had it been otherwise, Bloody William would to-day have his cloven hoof upon the whole of France, and on half of the English Channel, for keeps. But for the readiness of France, Germany would not have been smashed on the Marne; and the Huns now would be the absolute masters of all Europe. Germany lost her war at the Marne, and failed in the realization of her rapacious dream. It was the readiness and the superior military strategy of France that balked the Huns at the very threshold of their great adventure.

The European crucible of war has tried out several

nations. Some it has decorated with the grand cross of the Legion of Honor, others it has branded on the forehead with the mark of Cain and Judas Iscariot, Nero and Attila.

To a very large extent, on the side of the Allies, this war is an affair of honor. For example:

Russia, honorable under the Czar, took up arms to save little Servia from extermination: but in 1917 the honor of the nation went to pieces.

Belgium took up arms to defend her homes from ruthless invasion, and won immortal honor.

The British Empire took up arms in defense of Belgium, and France, and the rights of civilized nations, and won the undying admiration of the world.

America took up arms in defense of Christian civilization, and the rights of man; and by all civilization her motives are appreciated.

After all this outpouring of knightly blood on the field of honor, let no cynic say: "All nations are sordidly devoted to their self interests"; for it is distinctly not true. Some nations have just as high a sense of honor as the most chivalrous individuals.

Nations can be selfish, mean or wicked, the same as individuals; and, similarly, they can be generous, noble and self-sacrificing. For example, no just judge of nations and men can fail to recognize the world-wide influence of the British Empire in defending oppressed peoples and protecting the rights of mankind.

With all their worship of wealth, and their mad devotion to luxury, we have seen that in answer to the call of honor and duty the best men of America can offer their lives and their fortunes as freely as water flows from a spring. This is not, as some liars say, "a capitalist's war." It is a war for the rights of the Common People.

Thank God, America is at last an Ally, and in the war! At last we can hold up our heads among Canadians and Anzacs. Englishmen and Frenchmen, and look them in the face without turning red up to the roots of our hair. At last America is ready to go over the top, fighting for the preservation of human liberty. the square deal, and a just and lasting peace. We did the same thing when we fought for peace and human freedom in Cuba, and brought out of chaos a free and contented nation. We gave helpless China a square deal at the close of the Boxer rebellion.—but a little later we witnessed on the part of Germany, in helpless China, the most amazing and disgusting exhibition of "war" opera-bouffe, savage greed and detestable meanness that ever has been seen in modern times, prior to this war. Unfortunately the history of it is but little known.

Italy, by a supreme effort of will power and national manhood, waited not to be attacked, but threw off the tentacles of the German octopus, and her forced allegiance to her Austrian despoiler, and boldly cast her lot with the Allies. It was a decision making for her own future independence of her German masters, and for the peace of the world. By remaining passive, and neutral, Italy would have gained much commercially,—but nothing in honor or in freedom for the future.

She chose to act the full part of a great and progressive nation. And since that choice was made, Italy has astonished the world. Such fighting as she

has done the world never before has seen, and may never see again. The marvelous spirit and the military skill of it fairly baffles description. The history of it will form one of the most amazing, picturesque and thrilling chapters of the whole war; and thus far Count Cadorna and his army has known only one serious defeat! Cadorna and his legions on the Alpine crags and peaks, and their supporters at home, have carved out for the people of the New Italy a place in history to which for centuries to come the world will look with admiration and envy.

Italy has stood the acid test.

The acid test of war has revealed the underlying glory of Belgium, of the whole British Empire, France, Servia, Italy, Japan, Montenegro and Rumania, and the high caste of Portugal, Brazil and the United States. It has also shown up the three fatal defects of modern Russia and the Russians,—ignorance, sordid selfishness and vacillation.

On the other side, this war has revealed the structural weaknesses of Austria, the ever-present and merciless brutality of the Young Turks (on whom may all the curses of Allah alight), and the perfectly hellish brutality, treachery, rapacity and egotism of Germany. It would have been money in Germany's pocket if a millstone had been tied to her neck ten years ago, and cast with her into the depths of the sea. Now, her colossal shame and disgrace will be a stench in the nostrils of the world for five hundred years, and throughout four-fifths of the world the Huns will be pariahs and outcasts.

The year 1918 sees the nations of the world busily dividing themselves into two camps, one for the Bar-

barians of Berlin, the other everlastingly against them. Twenty-four nations, great and small, are either openly at war with the Teutonic powers or have broken off friendly relations with them. At this moment all the Austrians and Bulgarians would give the very shirts off their backs if they could pull themselves loose from Bloody William, and make peace with the Entente Allies. But they are firmly married to a bunch of mad-dogs, and there is no breaking away during the war.

Since April 7, 1917, the American people have walked up to the chalk-line of Duty, and toed the mark with an alacrity and thoroughness that has been entirely satisfactory. In advance of the event Germany would not believe it possible. In 1917 the extra session of our Congress deliberately appropriated the staggering sum of \$20,000,000,000 for the cost of the first year of the war and loans to our allies. In quick succession Congress provided the money for a huge army, navy and merchant marine, it established universal military service, sweeping control of food, fuel, and railways. At last members of Congress have received the grand hailing signal from "the folks at home"; and have dared to vote for real national defenses.

Previous to the war, an occasional Wise One wrote of the "decay" of England's power, and spoke of that nation as having passed its zenith. And the great Stuffed Prophet of Peace, David Starr Jordan, declaimed from his platform and in a silly book, first that France was "a decadent nation," and then that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In his book, "War and Waste," he said, speaking of "the Great War of Europe": "We shall say that it will never come. Humanly speaking, it is impossible."

there never would be a great European war.<sup>2</sup> This continued right down to the outbreak of the war; and in February 1916 D. S. J. publicly apologized, in writing, to "the Republic of France." For our national unpreparedness, Dr. Jordan is one of those most to blame.

On August 4, 1914, the sleeping British lion sprang from his comfortable couch, and roared across the seven seas. And at that war signal Canada, Ireland, Scotland, South Africa, India, Egypt, Australia, New Zealand and all the African colonies rushed to his side, to fight, to win, or to die.

To-day, those persons who once so glibly wrote about the "decadence of the British Empire" know what they were when they so wrote.

And France! Glorious France! Those who looked upon France as frivolous, vacillating or "decadent" have amazedly witnessed a miracle. They have seen a whole nation stop fooling, spring to arms, and rush out as one man to meet the dirtiest fighters on earth. They have seen French military strategy, as demonstrated by Joffre and Foch, by sheer military genius, individual bravery and skill in battle roll back the great wave of German barbarians, and dam it to a standstill far beyond the Marne. The defeat was so great that for ten days the beaten Klucks and Hindenbergs made no reports to the German people. In Germany, so it

In his book, "The Human Harvest" (1907), D. S. J. elaborated a statement that France is a "decadent nation"; and a little later, when he delivered a commencement address at Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, he repeated that "decadent" libel. It was reported in print that the French consul who sat on the platform instantly stepped forward, confronted him and characterized the statement as a "lie." (N. Y. "World.")

is reported, the awful debacle of the Marne is historically a blank!

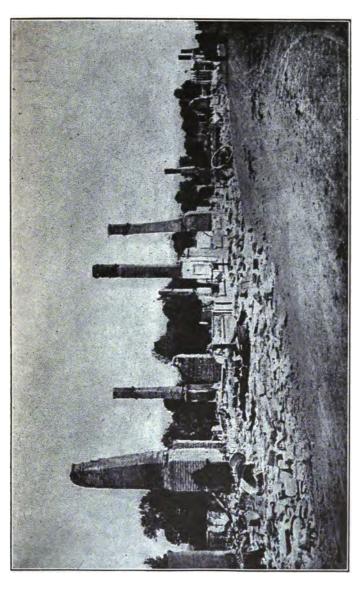
At Verdun, the Princeling in Pin-Feathers for months flung his Huns by the hundred thousand at the French lines, and beat his bony head against a living wall until he too was chased far back, beaten and discredited.

At the Somne, the flower of the German army, even to the hand-picked and swell-headed Prussian Guards of Potsdam, were beaten to a pulpy mass by Haig's "contemptible little army." About forty train-loads of half-dead or dying German soldiers, swathed in bandages, dazed and utterly broken in spirit, were shipped back from their shambles to Potsdam, to the great "repulsives" hospital at Wilhelmshaven, and to other parts of Germany, as exhibits of the logical conclusion of the doctrine of "Deutschland ueber alles."

The square-heads marched and swaggered through Brussels singing gayly; but when they were unloaded at Potsdam, no one smiled or spoke. The station people scowled, and growled: "What! Again!" Read all about it in D. Thomas Curtin's book, "The Land of Deepening Shadows."

When Germany started her war one of her very first acts was to telegraph by wireless, all over the world, the magic message, "Willie is ill."

Willie was so ill that instantly every German merchant ship scuttled for the nearest neutral port, and interned itself. This happened throughout the seven seas; and it was both amazing and laughable. The British, French and Russian ships went right on about their business; and they have been going on ever since.



THE HEARTHSTONES OF NORTHERN FRANCE

Sermaize. From "The German Terror in France," by Arnold J. Toynbee. WHY FRANCE IS FIGHTING THE HUNS OF CENTRAL EUROPE.

There are pictures of scores of other towns showing equal devastation; but all this ruin must be restored, at the sole expense of Germany, before any German commerce can be permitted to sail on any sea.

•

In quick time the seas were swept clear of Germany's so-called vessels of "war"; which are much stronger in retreat than in the advance. But in her assassin fleet, aimed at helpless merchant vessels and fishing smacks, the German "navy" is great.

In the Pacific, the hour for which Japan had patiently waited and watched ever since Germany helped to rob her of Port Arthur by the treaty of Shimenosiki, (1895), finally arrived. With Japan we had for nineteen years watched for the day of reckoning. At last it came. And right joyously did the little island empire, which never forgets an injury, sweep Germany out of the north Pacific, out of China at Kiaochow, and hungrily look about for "more." Japan did her stunt with neatness and dispatch; and the best part of the world rejoiced. Incidentally, China stands avenged on Germany, and she can well afford to give Japan a quitclaim deed to Kiaochow. The licking of the bandit nation that despoiled China six months after the Boxer War, was worth it.

Yes; this war is the acid test of nations.

We have been mighty slow on the draw; and in the respect of the world we have suffered severely. Perhaps by extra diligence up to the finish we may be able to win back the full respect of our allies; but that remains to be seen. When we look back upon the appalling list of insults and injuries to which through two and a half years we submitted at the hands of treacherous and deadly Germany, both ashore and at sea, our cheeks crimson with shame. Let any man who feels otherwise, even to the breadth of a hair, read herein the long and terrible catalogue of German treachery in America, of American factories burned or blown up by

German miscreants under our protection, of American ships burned or sunk and the list of Americans blown to pieces, burned to death or drowned by German plotters, and then tell us how he feels about it. It is to be found in a very valuable pamphlet compiled by John R. Rathom and published on June 11, 1917, by the "Providence (R. I.) Journal" and the reader will find a summary of it all in Chapter VI.

And up to this date so far as the public knows not one German traitor, or bomb murderer or incendiary, has been hanged or shot in sleepy America!

And after all this, in 1916 the Germans of Germany became furiously angry with us because we refused to submit to ruthless submarine warfare, and threatened war! The "League of Truth" was formed in Germany, and chiefly financed by renegade German-Americans of Berlin, such as Maurice Sonneborn, William F. Marten, Dr. Charles Mueller and Mrs. Annie Neuman Hofer, as a force to stir up German hate against America. From that time on the favorite German slogan has been "Gott strafe Amerika"; which if literally translated means "God Chastize America!" In 1916 that precious League, with the full sanction of the German government, circulated hundreds of thousands of pamphlets to stir up hatred toward us, and our Ambassador; and it surely did its work.

All this was done while we were at peace with Germany; and our only offense was that we would not take orders from Bloody William and the Prussians of Potsdam.

Surely, the dullest American now can see that we were too slow on the draw, that we were a hundred

times too sleepy, and that we endured a thousand times too much before we struck back.

One-half the acid test of the United States of America is yet to come. It will begin about June 1, 1918. Under the surface, a great movement to discredit the nation now is gathering force. But the forces of reaction may well beware. The real American people are not saying much, but they are in an ugly and dangerous mood. The LaFollettes and all other disloyals high and low had best sing small hereafter, or they surely will get what is coming to them. This is merely a friendly warning, not a threat.

All men, big and little, who from this time on dare to attempt to hamper our government, to retard our efforts in any manner to win against Germany, or to force America into favoring a weak and dangerous peace, may well look out for trouble. Unfortunately our laws covering espionage and destruction, treachery, disloyalty and sabotage are very far from being sufficient for the needs of the hour, and Congress should at once give us a sweeping disloyalty act.

No man can now predict what the organized pro-German pacifists, pro-German socialists, pro-German anarchists, the venomous I. W. W.'s and the traitors of all kinds may do within the next twelve months. That they will precipitate some serious local troubles I fully believe. A few of them are reckless, determined, and daring up to the full limit of "the law" that they at heart thoroughly despise.

The real Americans of our country now must keep broad awake, alert and on guard to meet any and every emergency that may arise through the traitorous and seditious elements who abhor all restraint and duty, and live as blood-sucking parasites on the country that they curse with their baneful presence. Beware of treachery and sabotage; and when either are found, strike, and strike hard!

### CHAPTER III

# The Sleepy Fit of a Great Nation in 1915

Occasionally a naturally keen and wide-awake individual is overcome by a sleepy fit, in which his whole solar system gives way to the influences that obliterate the senses. If you call him, he hears you not. If you shake him, he rolls like a log, keeps his eyes fast shut, grunts out "Huh-h-h!" and sluggishly tries to sleep on. If you grasp him and pull him up, he sits with head down and eyes closed, and mumbles: "Well, what d'ye want?"

An hour later he may be the most alert and forceful of men.

In 1915 the Congress of the United States was exactly like that. The Secretary of State (Mr. Bryan) was like that, but the Secretary of War (Mr. Garrison) was very much awake. Representative Augustus P. Gardner, of Massachusetts, to whom great honor is due, ran through Congress like a porter in a burning hotel, pounding on doors and shouting, "Awake! The house is on fire! Your children will burn!" And all Congress said was, "Huh!"

Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, General Leonard Wood and Theodore Roosevelt were very wide awake, and tried their utmost to awaken the Administration and the People. And look what the Administration and the People did to them!

Contrasted with the Congress of 1917, it does not seem like the same body. And, really, it has changed to a very great extent. In the elections of 1915 scores of the Sleepy Ones of Congress were replaced.

To-day that fatal Congress of 1915 carries a terrible lesson into the pages of history. It points with a hundred fingers to the dangers of the Sleepy Fit. That particular kind of human frailty has caused many and many a good life to go out in smoke and flames, amid falling walls.

At this fateful moment, when tremendous responsibilities rest upon Congress, the President and his Cabinet, it will serve a good purpose to hold up as a Horrible Example the Sleepy Congress of 1915.

Promptly with the assembling of the third session of the 63rd Congress, in December, 1914, Representative Gardner began a series of efforts to arouse the House of Representatives to the awful military unpreparedness of the United States. Mr. Gardner believed, just as a few other men believed, that the chances were as 9 to 1 that in one way or another our country would be drawn into the great European vortex. But the 63rd Congress was absolutely impervious, and the heedless men won every contest.

By December 1, 1915, it had become clearly apparent, from the new system of deep and labyrinthian trench warfare inaugurated all across France from Switzerland to the sea, that the war would be a long one. Kitchener had predicted three years as its shortest limit, and called for an army of 2,000,000 men.

The utterly weak and defenseless condition of the United States on land was so appalling, and so dangerous, that it should have aroused every reading and thinking citizen in our land. The great length of time required to enlist and thoroughly train new armies, to build new and modern artillery, and to arm and equip 2,000,000 men with weapons and clothing, was,—or should have been,—as well known as the difficulty of flying across the Atlantic Ocean. All the world was supposed to know, even in 1914, the paramount importance of powerful field artillery and machine guns by the thousand, in all kinds of land and air fighting. The quick smashing of the steel cupola forts of the Belgians at Liege and Namur by the Austrian Skoda guns of 16-inch caliber was, in December, 1914, well known history.

Even at that time there was no excuse for shortness of sight or stupidity of thought. The roar of the "big Berthas" of Essen and Skoda were enough to awaken the dead; and they should have awakened every man in Washington who held a position of responsibility.

We know that in times of peace it is the regular thing for the average Congressman to try to represent and reflect in his acts the views and the wishes of his constituents. Ordinarily, that is what Congressmen and legislators are for; but in all times of trouble the highest duty of every Congressman is to be the brave and thoughtful Leader of his constituents. Throughout a long series of quiet and peaceful years, it would have been useless to talk about an army of 1,000,000 men, because the necessity to use it was so remote, and the costs and charges it would involve were so great, that no peace constituency would have approved it. In those piping times no Congressman could be expected to propose military preparedness on an enormous scale. The whole nation was so sound asleep

to that necessity that the idea would have been ridiculed. It was therein that the great American citizen was sodden in slumber, and utterly unresponsive to the calls of the War Department demanding a standing army of reasonable size, and other forms of at least half-way preparedness.

But, in the face of great emergencies, all ordinary unwritten laws of human conduct are changed. It is the rule of the world that at such times the responsible party must grasp the baton of leadership, and ignore his regular instructions just as far as may be necessary for the public good. A general may safely disobey orders if it becomes necessary to do so in order to win a battle.

Every great emergency calls for leadership. In war times the Red Tape of peace must be slashed to bits. The admiral and the general can not postpone action until they can report to headquarters and receive new instructions. They must act! The member of Congress can not always wait to hear from his constituents before he votes. Still less can he pause in an emergency to inform his ignorant constituents of the new situation, educate them, and then ascertain their views. He must step out and be a Leader, regardless of the consequences to himself! That is what every sensible voter at home expects of him; and it was therein that so many men failed miserably in 1915-16.

One of the finest and most effective speeches ever made in a deliberative body was made some years ago in the Mexican Congress, by a member who felt that in conscientiously supporting the cause of right he thereby would insure his own political downfall. He began with these memorable words: "Gentlemen, I rise to sacrifice ambition to honor!"

It is a pleasure to record the fact that that gallant offer of a self-sacrifice appealed so strongly to the Mexican sense of honor that a complete revolution of sentiment rendered it unnecessary.

The eruptions and detonations of the European war volcano in 1914 created a new and terrible situation, which called for new alignments of thought, new initiative and new leadership. The 63rd Congress should have taken the very same steps that were taken in the winter and summer of 1917 by the 65th Congress, in the raising of a great army by universal and compulsory military service, and in providing money for its equipment.

But alas! in 1915 the great American citizen was sodden in slumber. America was then a nation of sleepy and blinking sloths, not wakeful Men! There was no general call to Congress to get busy with preparedness, regardless of cost. Instead of backing up Mr. Gardner, a good man in Congress who was awake, we, the people, and to a vast extent the press also, silently permitted him to be laughed at, ridiculed, bullied and browbeaten, until all his efforts went for naught. His one tactical error was in demanding a Congressional investigation of our unpreparedness and our needs. As pointed out by Col. W. C. Church, the awful weaknesses of our national defenses were abundantly set forth in the annual reports of Secretary Garrison and Secretary Daniels.

The treatment of Mr. Gardner, the Man Who Saw, was to Congress and to the individual American citizen a shame and a disgrace. It was even worse than the long indifference of England to the advice and ap-

peals of Lord Roberts for a real British army. It is not for me to point out the cost of England's sleepiness.

At this point I am going to yield to the temptation to insert a bit of history in which the writer attempted to play a part. It is not to adorn a tale, but solely to furnish an illustration and point a moral. It relates to the drowsiness in 1915 of the National Security League, an organization that now is awake, and is a power for good in the promotion of patriotism.

I was in at the birth of that organization, and I hailed its appearance with keen satisfaction.

"Here, at last," I thought, "is a group of wideawake men who will do great things toward arousing Congress and this sleepy nation."

Realizing very acutely the fact that national preparedness for war could come only through Congress, at the very first meeting I called attention to the fact that the session of Congress then sitting would end on March 4, and that in order to make any impression on that body, quick and forceful action by the new organization would be necessary. At the second meeting (December 22), a Committee on Legislation was created, and I was named as its chairman. Immediately I proposed the adoption of a brief platform of foundation principles on which my Committee could at once appear before Congress, and labor for preparedness legislation.

I offered a resolution to the following effect:

(1) That it must be admitted that our national defenses are inadequate to the needs of the nation; (2) that the public welfare demands large increases in the army, navy and militia, in airships, coast defenses, reserve rifles, machine guns, cannon and ammunition;

(3) that these increases, and all others called for by the staffs of the army and militia and the General Board of the Navy, should be granted immediately; (4) that Congress shall be asked to enroll forthwith 3,000 educated men, and proceed without delay to train them as officers; and finally, (6) that an emergency fund of \$100,000,000 be provided at once, by a bond issue, to meet the extra costs of all this in the year 1915.

Several members of the League hastened to endorse this resolution, strongly, and its adoption was promptly moved. It was heartily supported by Col. Wm. C. Church (Editor of the "Army and Navy Journal"), General George W. Wingate, Major George Haven Putnam, Mr. Charles E. Manierre, and others.

And then a strange thing happened. A gentleman bearing a distinguished name took the floor, and in an impassioned speech advised "delay," "investigation," "wait until we have a large membership behind us," etc. "We must go slow," he cried, "or we will make ourselves ridiculous!"

And then another gentleman took the floor, and with less vehemence but equal firmness supported the demand for procrastination.

The majority gladly would have adopted the resolution, but no one cared to split a vote and discredit those two gentlemen at the second meeting of the new organization. The resolution was finally, but reluctantly, "referred to the Executive Committee, with power to act."

The Christmas holidays intervened; and after an exasperating delay the Executive Committee finally

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The Plattsburg idea six months ahead of its time!

was brought together on January 25, 1915,— with only 33 working days remaining of the Congressional session. Again we brought forward our resolution, and asked for its adoption.

General Francis V. Greene was present, with the first copy of his new book on the war. And what think you was his attitude toward the resolution?

General Hostility!

Among other things, he said:

"We do not need to spend on preparedness any such huge sum as \$100,000,000! There is no need whatever for any bond issue."

"But," I said, "will not the new measures that we claim are necessary require a great sum of new money?"

"Yes; but there is no necessity for a bond issue, nor for any such sum as \$100,000,000."

"But the treasury is now facing the prospect of a deficit of \$29,000,000. Will you tell us the source from which the millions for new preparedness measures can be obtained?"

And this was General Greene's answer:

"The Government can save it, by abolishing useless navy yards, and useless army posts!"

Now, that was a strange proposition, was it not? Well, stranger yet is the fact that it was informally accepted by that Executive Committee! A few weeks later it appeared in the N. S. L.'s printed circular! Then I wrote the secretary and gravely asked him: "How much do you figure out that the abolition of useless navy yards and useless army posts' could be made to yield in cash?"

As I live and breathe, his reply was:

## "About \$35,000,000!"

My resolution was not adopted by that Executive Committee, nor was it acted upon in any manner!

Then I asked the Committee for authority to print and send to Congress, within a week, a certain manifesto, which I read in full, entitled, "The United States a Fool's Paradise."

General Greene threw much ice-water upon that, also; and presently the Committee, without having taken formal action of any kind, on any subject, joyfully sprang to its feet and went in to President Menken's delightful supper.

Now, when an Executive Committee of New York men get together because they are interested in National Security and preparedness, and because they think they are wide awake, but are really sound asleep, what can you expect of the average citizen who flocks by himself and thinks things out alone?

The next day I resigned from the League, because it seemed a waste of time to go on with it. When did that body really get into action in Washington? I do not know.

On February 8, 1915, four great newspapers printed my manifesto, "The United States A Fool's Paradise." They were the Washington "Post," New York "Tribune," Chicago "Tribune" and the Kansas City "Star." It went to the President and to every member of Congress; but it aroused not the faintest trace of interest.

It is only just to Mr. Menken to add that later on in connection with this episode he has shown the mettle of a generous and courageous gentleman. I never once said to him "I told you so"; but on several occa-

sions, and once in writing, he has taken pains to say,

"You were quite right. You were the only one of us all who had prevision. I wish we had followed your lead."

On February, 1916, I printed and sent out 9,500 copies of a 4-page manifesto to Congress and to Americans at large. It was entitled:

"National Defenses, or a National Licking! Which Shall It Be?"

The document was worded in the plainest English I could command, and it asked each recipient to write to his members of Congress, in Senate and House, and declare that he would support them at home in voting for the following national preparedness program:

## A UNIVERSAL AMERICAN PLATFORM

- 1.—A standing army of at least 250,000 well-trained, always-ready first-line troops, fully equipped with field artillery, aeroplanes, and automobile transportation, as planned by General Staff of the Army.
- 2.—A well-trained reserve army of not less than 750,000 second-line troops, at all times fully equipped and ready for active service on short notice, as planned by the General Staff.
- 3.—A navy, at least second best in the world, as planned by the General Board of the Navy, complete in fighting ships, scouts, submarines, hydroplanes, colliers, transports, and hospital ships.
- 4.—A chain of fortified coaling stations between our Pacific coast and the Philippines.
  - 5.—A flying army equal to the best in the world.

6.—An adequate series of dry-docks and repair yards fit for even our largest war vessels.

7.—Payment for all new equipment from bond issues, of about \$300,000,000 per year for the first two years, as the only equitable, practicable, and sensible way to raise the money, have it when it is wanted, and avoid disastrous wrangling over attempts to saddle the burden upon one class of people by taxation.

That call was posted to 9,000 picked men in the West and South, and to 500 newspapers. Did it make any impression?

It did. A country lawyer in a Minnesota town wrote me very kindly and said:

"I think that if your friends would place you in some secluded and quiet sanitarium for the feebleminded, and keep you for about three months on a milk diet, you might perhaps come out all right."

And a good friend in the Texas legislature wrote and said:

"Texas never will stand for any issue of government bonds to pay for munitions of war,—never! If any such enormous expenditure as you propose really should be made,—which I doubt,—it must come from incomes, inheritance taxes, and the makers of the munitions." [Class legislation for revenue, or else no preparedness!]

It is quite unnecessary to review in detail the acts of omission of the last session of the 63d Congress. Throughout a carnival of short-sightedness, folly and timidity, the real needs of the army,— in men, equipment, artillery and aeroplanes,— were sidetracked

and left unprovided for, to an extent that was at once amazing and wicked.

For example, the General Board of the Navy, headed by Admiral Dewey, recommended \$10,000,000 as an irreducible minimum for aviation service in 1915 for the navy alone. In his budget of estimates for 1915, Secretary Daniels cut that down to \$1,000,000. And that was the amount that Congress finally appropriated.

The result?

We have been in the war nearly one year, and as yet we have not even one war plane over our troops at the front!

Last year, (1917), the amount appropriated by Congress for aviation was \$640,000,000. And the joke of it all is that no one has objected to it as being too great a sum! The total sum appropriated in 1917 on account of preparedness and the war was \$10,177,602,392, not counting the loans to the Allies of \$7,251,044,541.

This means that since March 1, 1915, Congress awakened has become wiser, in a ratio of 1 to 640!

## CHAPTER IV

# America Only Two Per Cent. Awake in 1916

"I know of no way of judging the future but by the past," said Patrick Henry. Even at the end of the Lusitania year (1915), the one hundred millions of people living in America were so little awake to the Germanic danger, and to the necessity for great and costly national defenses, that it is impossible to represent the real wakefulness of the nation at that time without going into decimal fractions. I figure it approximately as follows, of course exclusive of military and naval organizations.

# People Awake, and Advocating Preparedness, December 31, 1915

Members of Congress	perhaps 100
The U. S. Navy League The Aero Club of America The U. S. Army League American Defense Society American Rights League The National Security League	total active members about 41,000
The American Legion (enrolled for	r war service) 20,000
Other organizations in New Yor	k State,
possibly	10,000
Newspaper editors, in 48 states, p	ossibly 1,000
All other persons, in 48 states, po	ossibly, 40,000
Total, about	112,100

In round numbers this represents, of the whole population of the United States, only one-tenth of one per cent. or decimal of .o.!

Can any man show that the percentage was any larger?

Despite the Lusitania, and a long string of American ship sinkings, many haulings down of the American flag, many plots of traitors and spies here in our midst, an appalling number of bombings and burnings of ships and factories with much loss of American lives, one-tenth of one per cent. was the measure of real wakefulness in America on January 1, 1916! I was watching for preparedness all the time, from Dec. 1, 1914, onward, and I think I know the situation reasonably well.

The third session of the 63rd Congress, (1914-1915), was, so far as our new national defenses were concerned, a ghastly affair. Up to its close on March 4, 1915, I think that not more than 25,000 civilians in the whole United States were awake, active, and working to produce results. The sinking of the Lusitania, on May 7, 1915, practically trebled the number of persons who tried to do things for preparedness.

The first session of the 64th Congress which opened December 6, 1915, showed a noticeable improvement. Senator George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, set forth in a brave and spirited attempt to provide in the Army appropriation bill for what seemed at that time a perfect whale of an army. He was ardently backed by the Secretary of War, Lindley M. Garrison, on whose brow I would like to place an indestructible laurel crown. He saw into the future! And he did his best

to provide for what he saw. He wanted at that time 350,000 men.

But the paths of Secretary Garrison and Senator Chamberlain were blocked with wait-a-bit thorns. Their plans were stabbed and hamstrung until their life blood ran out. The fine efforts of Representatives Augustus P. Gardner of Massachusetts, R. W. Parker of New Jersey and Frank E. Guernsey of Maine were of no avail. The plans of the wide awake men were skinned and skeletonized, right down to the bones.

It matters not to name at this time the persons and the processes by which this was done. Many Senators tried to prevent it, and so did a few members of the House; but the Hay-Chamberlain bill that finally emerged from the conference committee, and was passed, was a grinning skeleton, and nothing more. Senator Chamberlain tried to save its face by publicly keeping his own; but the nation as a whole knew that instead of providing any army of 175,000 men at once, it meant an army of that size by slow accretions, covering FIVE YEARS!

I could characterize that bill, and those who made it, in harsh terms that would be perfectly just; but what is the use? That was what I thought when Representative Mondell of Wyoming told me in his office, with a genuine glow of honest pride, how "hard" he had "fought" to keep the army down to 145,000 men, on account of "the enormous expense" of a larger army!

Just by way of a single illustration, I will cite the air service features of the Army and Navy bills of the third session of the 63rd Congress. They will give the reader an absolutely exact measure of the "preparedness" of 1916.

The officers and members of the Aero Club of America (New York) worked like threshers to arouse Congress and the country at large to the vital necessity of doing big things in developing an airplane service and a big supply of military aeroplanes. Their campaign was magnificent. It was sane, it was reasonable, it was businesslike, it was vigorous, and it was prosecuted regardless of cost.

Right down to our declaration of a state of war with Germany, our aeroplane service was a ghastly joke.

When we sent our little army to Mexico, we made a bluff of supplying it with aeroplanes. We had only a dozen that could be sent at all; and in a short time after they landed on the border six of them went upon the scrap-heap. They could not stand the shock of flying and landing in a strange country; and this is no joke!

In June, 1916, the situation was so bad that the Aero Club proposed to raise \$500,000 with which to equip our Atlantic Coast forts, with planes to be operated by the Naval Reserve.

The Boston "News Bureau" said that "the country of Langley, Curtis and the Wrights is, in aviation, the last in the civilized world."

Germany had 9,000 planes; and even little Bulgaria had 300!

In March, 1915, Congress appropriated the staggering sum of \$1,000,000 for air craft and air service, instead of the \$10,000,000 called for by the General Board of the Navy:

In 1916 the appropriation for the navy air service was \$3,500,000, and for the army \$1,000,000. Do you think Congress was becoming aroused?

When war was declared with Germany the United States Government had not one war plane, nor one really fast engine of any kind capable of driving an air plane over 90 miles on hour. No fast engines were made in America; and none were made until late in 1917!! When the war began, our bold and enterprising inventors and engine-makers began to experiment to produce engines for war planes.

In 1917 Congress appropriated for aeroplanes and air service—not \$1,000,000, nor \$4,500,000,—but \$640,000,000! That belated beginning was made two months after the vanguard of our Army reached northern France!

Dollars sometimes form a very good slumberometer, do they not?

In January, 1916, the President of the United States was forced by General Apathy, then in supreme command in Congress and throughout the whole West and South, to pack his grip and go forth to the people at large, appealing to them to awake and promote real Preparedness. He went out to the Sleeper, the "Dead One," the Man with Cold Feet, the Man Devoted to his farm and his business, the Pacifist and the Fool.

He went out to counteract the blatant errors of the Bryans, the Jordans, the N. Y. League to Limit Armaments, and the peace-at-any-pricers. Mr. Oswald Villard had publicly declared that he would not lift a finger to repel an invasion of the United States by Germany. Was it not indeed a pitiful spectacle,—that the American people should have made necessary such an effort, by their own President!

The earnestness, the high-born purpose, the urgency and the pathos of the President's appeals were, to a

really great extent, irresistible. Sentimentally the people whom he reached woke up and surrendered to him; but for all that, they did NOT at that time issue adequate war orders to Congress!

The President's least responsive audience was in Topeka, (according to the New York "Tribune"), and the least responsive element was the Kansas farmer! Farmers who were interviewed at Topeka said they would "fight in a minute if our country were invaded; but we won't go a step farther!" "They were not interested in any national honor question that goes outside the boundary lines of continental United States." How is that for sodden and disgusting slumber, in 1916, the second year of the war?

I venture to say that no one bit of testimony before Congress ever had a wider influence for evil, or was more universally or more jubilantly used by the enemies of preparedness high and low than one furnished by General Nelson A. Miles. It went into the public records early in 1916, at the very time when the home enemies of our country were most active, and it was like putting a dagger into their hands to be used for the Kaiser. Read on the next page what was widely circulated by the disloyal "Union Against Militarism," of Washington and New York.

Up to this date the whole seacoast of Germany has been absolutely impregnable against the attacks of the British fleet. Now I ask this question:

Will any man, or any intelligent American schoolboy over twelve years of age, now venture to assert that in 1914 Germany could not have landed 500,000 troops at any one of fifty different points between Boston and Fortress Monroe, as fast as they could be Major General Nelson A. Miles, U. S. A., retired, testifying before the Committee on Military Affairs, at Washington, Feb 8, 1916, said:—

"Having had much to do with the placing and construction of our fortifications, and inspecting every one along the Atlantic, Pacific and Gulf coasts, as well as having had an opportunity of seeing all the great armies of the world and many of their strongest fortifications, including the Dardanelles, I am prepared to say that our coasts are as well defended as the coasts of any country, with the same class of high-power guns and heavy projectiles, and I have no sympathy with the misrepresentations that have been made in the effort to mislead the public.

"If 500,000 men could by any stretch of the imagination be loaded into 500 ships and all landed on our shores at once, the expedition would be abortive. If we could not raise enough men and train them to annihilate the invaders before they could be reënforced, I would leave the country and find another nation to which to declare allegiance."

loaded into boats, without being touched by a "fortification" of any kind?

We have in round figures 5,000 miles of seacoast to defend.

I leave the reader to figure out for himself what General Miles' statement is likely to cost America and our allies, through delayed preparedness, before this war is over.

#### CHAPTER V

#### The Slumber of the Mid-western Farmer

For a considerable period, amounting practically to the whole years of 1915 and 1916, the cold-footed attitude toward preparedness of the farmers of the Middle West caused the President and his cabinet grave concern. The Socialist Labor element of that region said: "This is a capitalists' war. Now let the rich do their own fighting!"

The farmers of the West stood pat, and said next to nothing. Their reported attitude toward the second Liberty Loan, even in the face of unparalleled prosperity on the farm, caused the N. Y. "Evening Sun" of October 22, 1917, to publish the following editorial. I commend it to the attention of every American farmer who is not fully awake at this hour.

#### THE HAPPY PLOWBOY

"The happy plowboy was a figure of humble virtue dating from the eighteenth century, a period of indescribably wicked conservatism and tyranny. In this more fortunate day, the plowboy's tool is more or less supplanted by the steam plow, and his whistle has now become the honk-honk of his automobile as he drives blithely about the country looking after his fences, patronizing the president of his bank and consulting with his fellow plowboys, or 'farmers,' as they call themselves, touching the most eligible market

### LOOKING FOR THE MAN WHO RAISES ALL THESE \$20 HOGS AND \$2.20 WHEAT, ETC.



THE BASHFUL FARMER
By J. N. Darling, in the New York "Tribune"

for nature's bounty, of which they find themselves the trustees.

"The present attitude of the farmers of the country, of the Middle West in particular, has occasioned some surprise to those persons who have supposed that the farmer was as good a patriot as anybody else, and that an appeal to him in behalf of his country at war would meet a cordial response. Yet Mr. E. D. Hulbert, president of the Merchants' Loan & Trust Company of Chicago, has made some investigations among the population of his neighborhood which lead him to make these painful remarks:

"The one weak spot in the situation is the attitude of farmers. They will neither buy Liberty bonds, pay taxes, sell their produce nor fight. I have asked many out of town bankers who have called here about farmers paying taxes, and I have learned of but one instance in which a farmer paid an income tax. They have profited throughout the entire period of the war, but are unwilling to help the Government in any of the four ways mentioned.

"The Comptroller of the Currency has estimated the gross income of the United States to be about \$40,000,000,000. Of this he estimates farm produce and animals to bring a gross return of about \$17,000,000,000. The farmers, according to this estimate, are getting 42½ per cent. of the country's in-

come and giving nothing out of it.

"This, indeed, is a pretty howdydo. But anybody but a farmer will tell you that it is not a very surprising result of the public indifference to the general attitude of the farmer, in recent years, which is that everything must be conceded to him, because he is the backbone of the country. The railroad men might as well claim every privilege because they are the ribs of the country, or the bankers because money in circulation is the life blood of the country's business. This quarrel of the 'backbone' with all the rest of the skeleton is one of the foolish tricks of talk which have outgrown all reasonable bounds during the past decade. Perhaps not all farmers share in Mr. Hulbert's condemnation, but there is too much ground for his complaint."

The above extract from the "Sun," and the adjacent cartoon from the "Tribune" were published within eighteen hours of each other!

Two weeks later this dispatch was published in the New York "World":

#### MIDWEST APATHY REBUKED BY TAFT

# "All Sections Must Be Aroused to Lick Germany," He Tells Kansas City

KANSAS CITY, Nov. 5.—" While there is no feeling against the war in this section of the country, there is a general feeling of apathy," former President Taft, who is lecturing through the West, said here to-day.

"The Middle West is not so enthusiastic as it must become if we are to win. I am entirely optimistic as to the final result, but I feel that our people in all parts of the country must be aroused to the task before us, for licking Germany is no easy job."

Now, were all these things based on actual conditions? If so, just what do those conditions mean?

Let us see if we can diagnose this case. I know something of mid-western men.

I was born and reared on farms, in Indiana, Iowa and Illinois. My father was a farmer, of the most progressive class of his day. He was in every sense an ardent patriot. In the days of the Civil War, I remember very distinctly how the farmers of the Middle West gave up their sons of fighting age, and the gray-beards and the boys did the work of the farms. There was no draft in Iowa, because Iowa's volunteers filled her quota. All my brothers and uncles, who were of war age and ablebodied, were volunteers; and they either

went through the war, or perished in it. In 1861 I was in the small-boy class.

For thirty long years prior to about 1895, the western farmer had been the toad under the harrow. For long and bitter years he had struggled against low prices, fought destroying insects and the destroying elements, and wrestled mightily with his debts and mortgages. The fight of Paul with the beasts at Ephesus was not more fierce than his with Adversity on the farm. As I watched the situation at a distance, I marveled at the western farmer's fortitude, and prayed that the tide would some day turn in his favor.

At last the farmer's turn came! Prices began to go up. The rise of Dollar Wheat was to him the dawn of a new era. In 1894 corn attained the dizzy height of fifty cents per bushel; and then set in a joyous era,—the slaughter of farm mortgages.

During the past ten years we have heard much and read much of the prosperity of the mid-western farmers. We have heard of the enormous aggregate of their surplus cash in banks, the value of their lands, and the number of their automobiles. I have been told by Iowa men that "in Iowa every farmer now owns an automobile; and they scorn the cheap cars." I know that southern California is thickly sprinkled with retired Iowa farmers.

Now, why is the "Tribune's" cartoon?

I think it is because the mid-western farmer is yet dozing on the patriotic job, and needs to be reached and awakened. The native American farmer is not close or stingy with his money. The alien-born farmer frequently is so. When the American farmer has

money, he is a fairly free spender; but he has not yet forgotten the days of hard times on the farm.

Of all the large classes of Americans, the farmer class is the most difficult to reach, and the most difficult to arouse in a new cause calling for thought and action. His meetings are seldom, and he gets few face to face personal messages from without, save from those who have axes to grind at his expense.

To-day, I think the clarion call of war and its Liberty Loan has not clearly been heard across the farm. It is possible that the patriotism of the American farmer has not yet been stirred to its depths. He does not yet realize the importance of licking the bloody German Kaiser out of his boots, on European battlefields, and of making him accept a peace that will last. He must be shown. To reach him, effectively, is a difficult and tedious task; and the more quickly the prophets of a lasting peace go after him, and reach him, and shake him into full wakefulness, the better for us all.

The American people have the reputation of being temperamentally nervous, alert and highly receptive. In comparison with the English we are supposed to be more quick on the draw. But after all, the traditional slowness of the Englishman and the quickness of the American are both of them fluctuating. They vary according to circumstances; and these are times when the two temperaments are very much alike. For example:

In July, 1914, the whole British nation, colonies and all, was calmly and peacefully pursuing its usual vocations, in business and in pleasure. Britain's sea power was wide awake and alert, but the army circles were calm, and the British people as a whole were asleep. Only Lords Roberts and Kitchener and the sea dogs were awake and ready to bark at intruders.

On August 4, with the beginning of the Hun invasion of Belgium, the sleeping lion sprang from his lair. With one universal bound the whole British Empire awoke, broad awake, and rushed for its weapons. Only Union labor in England hesitated.

It was a magnificent spectacle. It thrilled the world. As a culmination of a perfectly astounding series of treacheries, insults, burnings, sinkings and blowingsup of Americans and American property, the Lusitania, scheduled by Berlin for sinking on May 5, was studiously and deliberately sunk on May 7, 1915, just two months and three days after the adjournment of our great Sleepy Congress. A German submarine captain named Otto Steinbrink, who afterward was decorated by Bloody William of Potsdam with the ordre Pour la Mérite, slaughtered 1,198 unarmed civilians, -- men, women and children,—of whom 110 were Americans. Immediately after that he was promoted, and ever since that time he has been diligently engaged in training other Germans how best to sink other merchant ships!

On the morning of May 8, 1915, the writer wrote to President Wilson, offering his services, unreservedly, "during the entire period of our war with Germany."

But how was it then with the great American voter and the Silent Majority?

There was no uprising, and no universal demand for war with Germany as our answer to that long series of insults and injuries. The American Citizen as a whole was perfectly calm. Major George Haven Putnam, the American Rights League and a few editors demanded immediate war; but the total demand was very, very small. Of all the patriotic organizations

#### THE LUSITANIA MEDAL

An Index of the Soul of the Hun

"With joyful pride we contemplate this latest deed of our navy."

Cologne "Volkszeitung," May 10, 1915.

The obverse side of this soulful work of Hun art shows the *Lusitania* sinking, with a loss of 1,198 non-combatant men, women and children, and with characteristic Hun falsity it shows deck guns that were not there. The date shown, May 5, 1915, is two days ahead of the event, because the sinking was scheduled to take place on that date.



The reverse of the medal shows the ticket office of the Cunard Line, and a Hun in a tall silk hat holding up a warning finger.

The reptile who sank the Lusitania was immediately decorated by the Kaiser with the "Ordre pour la Mérite," promoted to a captaincy, and assigned to the duty of instructing other submarine reptiles in the art of sinking merchant ships.

that I knew, and watched, only two or three came out openly, boldly and defiantly, demanding a declaration of war as our answer to the Lusitania slaughter.

Fully 98 per cent. of the American people were either asleep on their duty, or were so drowsy that they were

unable to do more than say "Huh." And President Wilson knew this well! He knew that this sleepy nation was not then ready to follow him, and back him up to the limit, in a war with Germany.

Does any one in America now doubt any of these statements?

God forgive us all! Even with the giant Lusitania resting far down on the bottom of the sea, and with the long lines of our streaming dead on the dock at Queenstown, the American people still were far from being ready, either spiritually or physically. We were totally and shockingly unready to declare war on our already bitter enemy, and go at him.

The President of the United States wrote notes to Germany. Yes. He did so because at that time there was literally nothing else to do! Did the American people rise up en masse and demand an immediate declaration of war? They did not. The average native American was Indignant, yes; in private. But in public he roared as gently as a sucking dove.

Look at the files of the newspapers of May and June, 1915, and for the weary and dreary months following, if you doubt this disagreeable statement.

Besides the demands of the American Rights Committee, of New York, headed by George Haven Putnam, one of the noblest Romans of them all, I know of only one other call upon the President for an extra session of Congress, or for an immediate declaration of war. That was sent by a Man-in-the-Street, on Aug. 10, 1915. But no doubt there were others.

As late as February 8, 1917, there appeared in opposition to preparedness, before the Senate Committee

on Military Affairs, Mr. Frank Donnblazer, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Donnblazer represented the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, organized in 26 states; and the total membership claimed therefor was "2,000,000 farmers"! Even at that late day those 2,000,000 American and near-American farmers were so soundly asleep that this astounding resolution was put on record before Congress, by Mr. Donnblazer, as representing their sentiments:

"We demand economy in all operations by Congress, and we are especially opposed to any great increase in expenditure for the Army and Navy, but approve a reasonable outlay for coast defense by submarine or other weapons, proved by recent experience to be effective for that purpose. We are unalterably opposed to a large standing army and to any change in our military system tending to compulsory service." — (Hearings).

This takes the grand prize for somnolence right up to the date of our acceptance of war with Germany!

Finally, in 1917, after no end of American munition plants had been blown up, with many murder accompaniments; after no end of incendiary bombs had been placed on ships in New York by German spies; after no end of American merchant ships and British hospital ships and Belgian relief ships had been torpedoed and sunk at sea by Hun submarines; after a wild carnival of plotting in America against America by the Bernsdorff reptile in the German embassy, the chuckleheaded Boy-Ed, the asinine Papen, and the ridiculous Dumba; at last some of the Sleepy Heads of the

United States yawned, aroused themselves and sat up.

At last, in 1917, two years after the Lusitania slaughter, they slid out of bed, thoughtfully pulled on their breeches, adjusted their suspenders, and solemnly tied their shoes. At last they said,

"By cracky, this thing has gone far enough! We must take our double-barreled shotguns and teach those confounded Germans a lesson. We'll—we'll—we'll dismiss that Bernstorff, b'gosh; that's what we will do! We won't have him around!"

The moment the country seemed likely to support him, President Wilson kicked out Bernstorff, and Congress declared a state of war with the Huns.

The country was electrified. Hurrah! Vive la France and the Allies! Now for Hostilities!

And how the Germans laughed in derision,—at the bare idea of America fighting Germany, bare-handed, without cannon and without men! Well they might. The United States army was a first rate skeleton, with only 45,000 effectives. The National Guard was rather more in point of available men; but how was it armed? It was a sad spectacle,—was it not? Think of that ghastly mobilization on the Mexican border, and blush!

If any intelligent American can find reason for thinking otherwise, I congratulate him.

And then, while we looked back upon Representative Gardner's efforts in Congress in 1915 and 1916, and thought of the two years wasted in slumber, the whole civilized world gazed pityingly at us and said,

"What fools these mortals be!"

#### CHAPTER VI

#### Paying the Piper in 1918, and After

During 1915 and 1916, the "pacifists," the traitors, the German spies and propagandists, the foes of preparedness, and the men in high places who were afraid of that bad element, all combined succeeded in keeping this nation from arming itself in its own defense. Perhaps God can forgive that mentally or morally deformed mob for the colossal injury it inflicted upon America; but there are millions of Americans who never will.

"Pacifists" pervaded Washington, and were a constant drag on the President. Pacifists and fools browbeat Congress, in those two fatal years! And the rest of the nation was so generally asleep that President Wilson dared not move in an aggressive way, because only 2 per cent. of the people were ready to back him up.

Lindley M. Garrison, Secretary of War, was awake, even in 1914. He demanded a real army. When it was denied him, he resigned in disgust and despair, and went upon a private shelf.

Admiral Bradley A. Fiske was awake, even in 1914. He demanded preparedness to fight; and especially a great force of aeroplanes. He became so insistent and troublesome that he was forced to accept retirement,—just when the nation most sorely needed his expe-

rience, his judgment and his counsel. Who was chiefly to blame for that?

General Leonard Wood was wide awake, in 1914, in 1915 and thereafter. He, too, demanded an army, and equipment for a real war.

The fateful great drive of Germany is in progress against the British and French on the blood-stained fields of Picardy, in March, 1918, four full months before we can, by any possibility, place enough American soldiers in France to count heavily in that struggle for a final victory. The Germans now are laughing at us, and are striking before we can get there in force! For this the pacifists and the Sleepy Ones are to blame.

IF the Germans break the Allied line this Spring, the blame will be divisible between the rotten-hearted Bolsheviki of Russia and the million times blamable "pacifists," traitors and sleepy fools of the United States of America. We are telling truths that to the guilty ones will be unpalatable, but this is only the warning breeze that precedes the howling hurricane.

If the Germans break the French or British or Belgian lines this spring, it will not be the fault of any of the men I have mentioned, nor of Theodore Roosevelt, the noblest Roman of them all; or of the late Major Augustus P. Gardner, Senator George P. Chamberlain, the New York "Tribune," "Times," "Sun," "World" or "Herald"; nor of the Providence "Journal," nor the American Defense Society, the gallant Aero Club, Emerson McMillin, the U. S. Navy League, the U. S. Army League, nor the American Rights League. We have steadily watched the signal smoke as it rose from the camps of all the above. Whatever happens to

distressed Europe or Sleepy America, the men and the influences named above will be free from blame.

Whenever a sentry sleeps on duty, or a workman on his job, as sure as death and taxes, some one pays a price for it. Sometimes it is the sleeper himself; sometimes it is his comrades; and again it may be men who are far away.

When Chicago slept on a lot of anarchist propaganda, in 1886, at the Haymarket bomb massacre seven of her policemen paid the price, with their lives; and four anarchists were hanged. When the city of Johnstown, Pa., did nothing about the dangerous dam above it, the whole city paid the price of that slumber. New Orleans endured the Mafia until her Chief of Police died on the altar of slothfulness; and then the Mafia paid.

The greater the body of men sleeping on duty, the greater is the price to be paid for it; and the innocent suffer far more than the guilty.

Thus far no one has attempted to post our books, and figure up the loss to us and to the world from the awful sleep of this nation in 1915 and 1916. This is a good time to see how that account stands down to date. The task is by no means so impossible as it may look — to those who are willing to think about it! Let us spread our facts upon the table, face up, and see what they teach us.

By January 1, 1915, the European war had progressed far enough that we knew what modern, up-to-date Germanic warfare was like; but we had not the faintest conception of the power of German spies and lies and treachery among ignorant people. We had known before the war that France was putting thought

and great effort into her field artillery, and was really strong in that arm. But had that fact led sleeping America to copy her ideas and her methods? Not at all. Our army had only the most trifling beginning of a really adequate equipment of field artillery. We knew heavy field artillery only by hearsay; for we had none of it!

Even the Lewis machine gun, used in 1914 by the Belgians against the Germans with such deadly effect, and for three years by the British, had been turned down by our stupid and over-wise Ordnance Bureau! Thanks to various causes, even the Navy ordered no Lewis guns until 1916, and the Army procured none until late in 1917.

Our Ordnance Bureau has much to answer for regarding the Lewis machine gun, and General Crozier's explanations and excuses are not in the least satisfactory to the people of this country. The Man-in-the-Street thinks that if that weapon was good enough for the Belgians and the British, from 1914 to 1917,—as it undeniably was and is,—then it is plenty good enough for us; and we should have ordered 10,000 of them in 1916.

On January 1, 1915, it was known:

That we had no up-to-date field artillery worthy of mention;

That it takes a year to make a 15-inch gun, of any kind.

That our stock of new-model Springfield rifles was frightfully small;

That the National Guard was practically unarmed, save with obsolete Krags;

That we had no aeroplanes;

That America did not know how to produce engines for war aeroplanes;

That our submarines were mere toys in size, and we had mighty few even of those;

That our "army" of first-line troops amounted to only 45,000 effectives, and that it takes a half a year to raise, equip and train a new army of even 500,000 men.

Finally, we know that the war would be a long war, waged with frightful loss of life and national wealth, and that the chances of our being drawn into the whirlpool were as 9 to 1.

It was the cue of our Congress to do in the winter of 1915 a large portion of what finally was done in the summer of 1917,—two and one-half years later! We need not then have provided billions of dollars for loans to the Allies; for at that time they did not need financial help from us; but in the name of common sense and wakeful prudence, we should have gone right to work to arm this nation to the teeth, and equip it to fight, and fight as a great nation should.

But we did not do any of the things we should have done. We slept, and in our short intervals of wakefulness we read the war news from Europe, laughed or blinked at Representative Augustus P. Gardner, of Massachusetts, then turned on the other side and slept some more.

It is easy and safe for any one to pose as a post-mortem philosopher. The whole world is very wise and judgmatical, after the event.

Now, in order to demonstrate my right to say things

in 1917 about the shortcomings of this nation in 1915-16, I once more fling modesty to the winds and introduce here a letter that I wrote to President Wilson on August 10, 1915. It may fairly be regarded as an act of desperation.

#### Dear Mr. President:-

Nothing else than a grave emergency would impel me to address the President of the United States with anything else than a pledge of loyalty, and an offer of services in case of need. I think that I must have been one of the first (on the morning after the news of the Lusitania) to write you, and enlist for the duration of any war that might arise.

Through years of experience I know something about manufacturing, and also about industrial enterprises that need to proceed under the pressure of haste. I also know the machinery of Congress, quite well.

In view of all the circumstances that now surround you, and the visible dangers that beset the pathway of this nation, I now make so bold as to suggest, and even to urge, that a special session of Congress be called to convene on September 15th. My reasons for believing this step necessary are:

I. The backward state of our national defenses;

2. The vital need to gain 2 1-2 months' time;

 The new work that can not in any way be started, nor even contracted for, until appropriations for it actually have been made;

4. The awful length of time necessarily consumed in planning, approving plans, advertising for bids,

and finally awarding contracts;

5. The awful length of time required for the making of new tools and new machinery, for new work. This applies with full force to the arms and ammunition factories of the government, saying nothing of the new buildings necessary;

6. The necessity for Congress to appropriate large

sums in bulk, immediately, so that all these things

can start, forthwith; and finally,

7. Congress deserves to be called back to repeal that destructive shipping law, which already has swept our mercantile marine (all save one ship!) from the Pacific Ocean, and will do the same for the Atlantic Ocean, unless quickly repealed!

When Congress convenes, I intend to propose a bill designed to provide \$250,000,000 for new national defenses, to be raised by the issue of national defense bonds and making the money payable by the President on requisitions from the Secretaries of War, Navy and State. It is entirely impossible ever to make speed by having Congress debate every item of expenditure, and wrangle over details that other nations have the good sense to leave to their rulers and their cabinet officers.

I need not point out the tremendous moral effect of the immediate calling of Congress in extra session on account of existing emergencies. Its effect on Congress itself would be an item worth considering.

I enclose a rough draft of the bill that I shall ask to have introduced; and with the utmost loyalty to

you and your Cabinet, I remain,

One of the People, WILLIAM T. HORNADAY,

The bill that I drafted and enclosed called for an emergency bond issue of \$250,000,000, but had it been presented to Congress at that time, the idea would have been treated with scorn. And there was no extra session of Congress, nor was anything worth while done either in 1915 or 1916. Two whole years of precious time was LOST!

Are not my countrymen who are awake now at last beginning to realize that the awful outpouring of blood in Europe is going to be prolonged, by at least one whole year, because America was one year from being ready to fight when Germany forced us to take up arms?

Had we been prepared on April 6, 1917, as we easily might have been, immediately to plunge into the conflict fully armed and equipped, think you that the war would have proceeded as long as it now will last? Would not readiness on our part have shortened the conflict by preventing the Russian collapse, and the disaster in Italy, and all the mischief that those calamities now are breeding? Through our Sleepiness, Italy has recently lost 300,000 prisoners, an unknown number of dead and wounded, 2,500 guns, a billion dollars' worth of war materials and tremendously important territory.

Mr. Frank H. Simonds, a distinguished student of the war, and writer on past, present and future operations, said this in the New York "Tribune" of October 21, 1917:

"Next year (1918) the United States can do little; less than the British did in 1915, much less. But in 1919, if the war reaches that year, we shall be able to deliver the knockout blow. . . . Next year it will still be the British who will have to bear the heat of the day."

Our French and British allies seem to believe that the entrance of America into the war will prove an important factor in achieving the only end to be considered,—the defeat of the odious military power of Germany. Rightly or wrongly, they believe that our coöperation on land and sea, and in the countingroom, will hasten the end. Germany now is straining every resource to beat the Allies on land before America brings any real force to bear in the conflict. In this she now has a good chance to succeed! Thanks to our unreadiness, and war weariness and German spies in Russia, Russia has gone into a state of chaos. Already the German shackles are being firmly riveted upon her, and the Hun wolves will suck her blood to the last drop. Great is Russian Socialism! Hurrah for the American Bolsheviki!

Now, let us walk up to the judgment seat, and face the cold, inexorable logic of the Facts that Are. History will not gloss over any of our errors, either of omission or commission. We have sinned, grievously; and it never can be hidden.

Suppose we had set out on March 4, 1915, seriously and resolutely to prepare, as we did on April 7, 1917. Suppose we had raised money in huge sums, even in the spring of 1916, and organized, and hurried, and striven, as we have during the past eight months. What would have been our condition in April, 1917?

Suppose, following instantly upon the heels of our declaration of a state of war with Germany we had begun to pour 2,000,000 well trained men straight into the front line trenches; a million men to fight beside General Haig and another million to take over half the French front? That would have been entirely possible,—had we begun, even in the summer of 1915, to get ready!

If we could have sent even 1,000,000 men against the Germans early in 1917, as we will by the end of the summer of 1918, does any good judge of the fighting believe for a moment that Germany would not have been hurled out of Belgium and northern France before any Russian collapse had occurred?

I think not. There is no good reason to doubt that proposition.

The whole war would thereby have been shortened by at least one year!!

It will take a grand smash in force to get the Huns all out of France and Belgium; and now the chances are that our 2,000,000 troops will be met by two million new Germans and Austrians from the eastern front.

And what would our preparedness have saved in shortening the war by even one year of carnage and destruction?

The saving of life cannot be computed, nor even estimated on any basis of probability. We can, however, reasonably figure out the saving in the shortened cost of the war.

Mr. Henry Hazlitt, of the New York "Evening Post," has kindly brought together for me the following figures of the daily cost of the war, exclusive of loans to other nations:

	per day	or	per year
England,	\$35,000,000		\$12,775,000,000
America,	29,400,000		10,731,000,000
France,	20,200,000		7,373,000,000
Russia,	18,000,000		6,570,000,000
Italy,	8,000,000		2,920,000,000

Total amount that would have been saved if the war had ended in December, 1917, instead of December, 1918

\$40,369,000,000

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The daily cost to Germany is \$27,200,000 or \$9,928,000,000 per year.

And this takes no account of the staggering losses of national wealth through living one year longer on a basis of war prices, or an extra year of losses to commerce and peaceful industries, or the additional life pension cases payable throughout the next seventy-five years!

At this date the Huns are beginning the gigantic drive as a last effort for a crushing victory. In all probability they will try to crush the entire center of the French battle front. If they succeed, the war will be prolonged by two years more. In that event the price of our sodden slumber in 1915 and 1916 may safely be reckoned at an extra 500,000 American lives needlessly sacrificed through our tardiness, and an extra \$20,000,000,000,000 in cost to us.

The extra cost of our folly in dead and wounded soldiers of our allies is beyond computation or even estimate.

If the Huns do not break through, and are defeated, they may possibly throw up the sponge, and accept the peace terms of the Allies. That would be to America the most stupendous piece of good luck that ever befell a nation since Noah sailed the seas. In that event we would be "fool-happy,"—"lucky without judgment or prevision."

In the worst event, six years of war will set back the civilized world half a century, and the Teutonic powers a full century. Charge up to the United States, on account of somnolence and slothfulness in 1915 and 1916, one-fifth of the total loss to our allies, and you will not be far from the mark of what our dullness has unnecessarily cost our best friends.

To-day the American people do not realize what our

allies have lost because we were so slow on the draw; but some day they will begin to realize it! There are times when slothfulness becomes a crime; and that is what our particular brand was during the two fateful years that we frittered away. In all our country there are only a few men who can stand up and truthfully say: "I told you so in time! I did my best to arouse you!"

And now the question is: Shall we make another huge blunder,—the blunder of pressing for and conniving at an inconclusive German peace that will leave Germany the real and only gainer by the war? If the socialists, the anarchists, and the militant-pacifist pests and traitors can have their way, the answer will be "yes."

At the close of the war, it will be well within our power to make another huge blunder through weak stupidity and somnolence,—in making with the Huns such a commercial treaty as they will demand! The murderers and robbers and rapists will insist upon a treaty containing a "a most-favored nation" clause; and if there is anything in this world that could cause me to take up arms against our government, it would be to prevent the making of a treaty of that kind with Criminal Germany.

Germany will make a grand push to buy cheap and sell dear, and to destroy all tariffs that do not enrich her at other people's expense. Look out for her!

It is now high time for all true American men, women, boys and girls to stand together shoulder to shoulder against the making of a German peace. When a man now demands "peace without annexa-

tions or indemnities," hit him; for he is a friend and ally of Bloody William, the Hohenzollern buccaneer.

Remember that "peace without annexations and indemnities" is the Berlin formula, and was "made in Germany," to suit the thousand-times-accursed wolves, mad-dogs and wolverines who deliberately and intentionally started the war for the conquest and robbery of weak and sleepy nations.

The Germans started the war, but by the Eternal the Entente Allies are going to finish it. The bad thing about it is that unless Germany cracks earlier, it will go on until the summer of 1919, and engage at least 2,500,000 American men.

But we can not afford a cheap and inconclusive peace. It would be too expensive! We must settle Germany firmly in a hell of her own, for 100 years, even though it should take one-half the wealth and man-power of this nation to accomplish it.

# PART II IMPENDING DANGERS

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#### CHAPTER VII

## The Danger in Misconceptions of German Character

As in Russia, so it is in England, France, Italy and the United States. German propaganda is a colorless, odorless, tasteless poison, so subtle that its work is done before even the danger is recognized.—(New York "Tribune.")

Already the civilized world has lost six millions of men, and many billions of treasure, partly through its awful ignorance and misconceptions of Hun character and ambitions.

Inasmuch as Germany now is the bitterest and most dangerous enemy that ever hated the United States, it becomes highly important that every American, regardless of sex, color or condition of servitude, should have an exact and luminous measure of that land and its people. The man who is ignorant of the mind and manners of his enemy thereby is at a great disadvantage; and in the end his enemy will make him pay heavily for his ignorance.

For forty years and more the Huns of Germany went masquerading under cloaks and dominos of "kultur" that deceived the whole world. They diligently exploited camouflages of "German art," "science," "music" and "literature," successfully distracted attention from the gross and the material side of German character, and everywhere set up idols made in Germany with teet of clay.

But war, the great test of nations and peoples, has stripped off several masks. It has revealed the supposedly little Belgians as giants in national honor and in courage. It has revealed the supposedly frivolous Frenchman as a human bull-dog in courage and tenacity. The Briton we always have known, just as we know him to-day,—a human Rock of Gibraltar for the defense of Humanity. The American has been found hard to awaken and slow to strike, but we believe he will be both swift and strong at the finish.

The Germany that we knew and admired so much, and that many loved, up to 1914, is dead and gone!

And the new Hun of Germany,—what of him?

With his mask and his cloak now contemptuously thrown aside, his misshapen and ugly form now nakedly stands forth, a horrible surprise to the civilized world. His former friends and admirers, and many of his relatives, also, now regard this new gorilla with horror and aversion. His mentality and his moral principles are even more warped and twisted than his physique,—a combination of big body, small head, and reptilian heart. Of moral principles, of bed-rock honor and gentlemanly ethics he has none. He even enjoys jabbing and pin-pricking the weak and the helpless, morning, noon and night; just as a cruel brute of a boy loves to torture kittens. If you doubt this, read about the German occupation of Belgium and northern France. On the coldest day it will make your blood boil.

A gentleman respects the man who fights him fairly, as gentlemen fight; and even when badly beaten he can shake hands with his antagonist, and call it "square." But all the world hates the dirty fighter,

and the mean-spirited cur who resorts to yellow-dog's tricks in order to win.

The leading Germans who have written and spoken since the war began have again and again voiced their sentiments that in winning this "defensive" (?) war, any and all methods that Germany may find it "best" to adopt are necessarily right! This is the pet doctrine of General Bernhardi, the evil genius of Germany, of Stirner, Reimer, Deissmann, Nietzsche, Hartmann, Traub, and the sweet-scented Pastor B. Baumgarten. To the Huns of to-day, their Might is their Right!

We have seen the detailed records of enough low-down and disgusting brutalities to brand the male Huns of Germany as creatures unfit to associate with decent people. Who but low-lived curs could have taken Edith Cavell from her hospital, even from her cots once occupied by wounded German soldiers, and without giving her or the American Minister the slightest chance for her defense in that ghastly mockery of a "trial," have shot her, secretly? And all this because, they said, she aided half a dozen Belgian and French prisoners to escape to Holland.

Who but the cheapest and most craven navy men on all the seas could have condemned and murdered brave and competent Captain Fryatt because he once saved his ship from a German submarine by trying to ram it? Great sportsmen, are those Germans! Real Americans will not be proud to know them and do business with them after the war. "Mr. President, I present His Excellency, the German Ambassador!"

Before the war we endured the colossal egotism of

the Germans, their greed of spirit, and their propensities to bully and oppress the weak, but the world will not condone their atrocities, their treachery, and the currish spirit that this war has revealed. The men of the Hun army and the navy are now, and ever will be, unfit to associate with gentlemen, and henceforth no American who values his reputation ever can afford to associate with them, war or no war. To Germany the "most favored nation" principle never again will apply; and we want no nonsense in Washington about it!

We repeat that Americans of German descent are in a totally different class. America is for them; Germany is not. They are of us and for us, and we are for them. They recognize the frightfulness of Germany, just as we do. They see the broken German idols lying in the mud, just as we see them; and while they mourn over them, they make no attempts to pick them up.

To a clean-minded, fair-minded American, Briton or Frenchman, the systematic manner in which German egotism, greed, deception and cruelty has been taught and fostered during the past thirty or forty years is almost beyond comprehension. We thought in 1914 that we knew the German people; but events quickly proved that we never had acquired the faintest notion of their true character! By 1915 it finally was revealed to the world that the basic doctrine of Pan-Germany is: "Whatever a German does for Germany is Necessarily Right"; that "The German is a Superman, and therefore Infallible"; and that "God is in partnership with the Kaiser."

For three and one-half years the German government has been lying steadily to the German people, and that policy continues to-day. The yokels are being told that "Germany was attacked"; that "other nations wish to destroy Germany"; that "Germany is fighting a defensive war," and that "England has long desired to crush Germany." As the natural and logical result of this lying, behold this

#### Partial List of the Crimes of Germany

- Germany deliberately and intentionally started the war, to crush Europe, and spread herself in seized and vassalized territory. (See Bernhardi.)
- 2. Repeatedly Germany has violated every clause of the Hague Convention of 1904 to restrict warfare to its legitimate channels, and lessen the horrors of war!
- 3. In contravention of a solemn treaty, and without the slightest provocation, Germany invaded Belgium for the purpose of hitting France below the belt.
- 4. German soldiers and sailors and airmen have murdered countless thousands of civilians, old men, old women and children.
- 5. Germany permitted her tool and ally, Turkey (on which may all the curses of God alight), to slaughter 1,500,000 helpless Christian Armenians, without ever lifting a finger to stop it, or even to protest against it.
- 6. German soldiers violated in Belgium and France at least 100,000 women and children, and murdered thousands of outraged women.
- 7. Germany slaughtered many hundreds of helpless women, children and men in London, in a most brutal and senseless manner,— and with great moral and military disadvantages to herself!
- 8. German submarine commanders have murdered

thousands of helpless steamer passengers, and unarmed sailors, neutrals as well as enemies. contrary to the rules of civilized warfare.

9. Germany began the use of poisonous gases and

liquid fire, first of all modern nations.

10. For three long and terrible years the Huns have been robbing Belgium of her money, food, machinery and raw materials, and shipping them to Germany.

11. Deportations, enslavements, and the enforced prostitution of French and Belgian women by Hun brutes have been going on for three

and one-half years.

12. French and Belgian women, children and old people have been used by cowardly German soldiers as living screens in battle.

13. Canadian prisoners have been crucified, alive, with bayonets, by the Huns.

14. Many nuns have been violated.

15. Fifteen hospital and Belgian relief ships have been knowingly and intentionally sunk by German submarines.

16. Red Cross hospitals have been bombed and fired upon by German artillery, very frequently, and ambulances innumerable have been fired upon.

17. Wells have been poisoned by Germans.

18. Living cultures of anthrax for cattle, and glanders for horses, were sent by Germans to Rumania, under the German diplomatic seal.

19. Many historic buildings, cathedrals, libraries and museums of great value have been wantonly

destroved.

- 20. Thousands of fruit trees have been wantonly destroyed, and also houses, by beaten Huns in retreat, under orders from the "high command."
- 21. In the United States, under the protection of our hospitality, the Hun Ambassador, Berns-

torff, and his assistant reptiles practiced all kinds of espionage, burnings, bombings, and poisoning of horses, all intended to damage the United States and the Entente Allies.

22. Up to Nov. 15, 1917, Germany sank 681 ships of one friendly nation (Norway), with a loss of 721 lives.

The Hun soldiers, statesmen, philosophers and common people glory in the crimes of Germany, and condone every one of them, on the ground that "Germany is beset by enemies, and these measures are necessary to help her to win the war!" Pastor Baumgarten in his discourse on "the Sermon on the Mount" develops great joyfulness of spirit over Germany's atrocities, especially the sinking of the Lusitania.

Over conquered peoples, Hun cruelty and rapacity knows no bounds. Mercy and compassion for human innocence and suffering are utterly unknown to the Germans of Germany. If Germans now should capture any American city, they would rob its banks, rape its women, carry off as much as possible of its most valuable property, and then destroy all the rest. When the Huns finally are driven from Belgium and northern France, every city that they evacuate will be destroyed by fire and explosives. If you doubt this, watch Liége, Brussels and Antwerp when the lepers go!

Now, for Americans who believe in honorable fighting, fair play, mercy to non-combatants, immunity for hospitals and the Red Cross, and no wanton and senseless destruction, what is the answer to all this?

The only answer is: Relentless war on the Huns, until that raging mad-dog nation is beaten to its knees, and until its bloodstained hands are held aloft as a sign of submission. Be the time of it long or short, be the years few or many, America must stay in this war to a finish that will be everlasting, and until the dawn of an enduring peace. No matter whether it takes twenty billion dollars or fifty billion dollars; no matter whether it takes 1,000,000 American soldiers or 10,000,000, Germany must and shall be beaten, and forced to pay for her crimes against humanity.

In the words of John Paul Jones, "We have not yet begun to fight!" Our people are as yet not more than half awake. At this time (Jan. 1, 1918) not more than 3 per cent. of us have been mobilized for this war. Yes; not more than 3,000,000 of us all out of 100,000,000. The other 97,000,000 still are "seeking their mirth and their employment," just as usual.

A great many German and pro-German spies still are sitting comfortably by our firesides, working in our shops and drawing American pay while they work for Germany. The language of our greatest enemy still is being taught in many American public schools; which shows that many school boards are at heart pro-German and disloyal, or else asleep on duty.

I warn American organized labor to pay good heed to the menace of the competition of cheap German labor after the war. Whenever this conflict ends and peace is made, the people of Germany will be crazy to draw foreign money into Germany. A man who has been starved to a skeleton naturally wishes to rehabilitate himself quickly, and at the expense of some one else.

During these war years of waste and expenditure in Germany, no money to speak of has come to the Huns from without, save the millions they have stolen from France and Belgium Financially, Germany already has been bled white. After the war, the struggle there will be to avert starvation, and rebuild industries. Germany will rehabilitate her factories, and feverishly go to work to produce, with a view to underselling all other nations, everywhere in the markets of the world. To-day she is figuring on a treaty with the Bolsheviki for the free entry of her goods into all Russia for fifteen years. To-day Berlin is plotting and scheming to effect treaties of peace containing the "most favored nation clause"; but from England, France and America the ravishers never will get one of that kind, or at least she should not for a definite period,—say 1,000 years.

If organized labor can't see this now, it will see it, mighty soon after the close of the war,— and it may suffer from it, too!

I warn the thinking working people of the United States to get ready for the attempts that will be made to undersell American working people and manufacturers, regardless of all other considerations. Men who are half starved and three-quarters naked can not stop to maintain high prices. They must get money, regardless of the rate of wages to them.

If we should open up our ports of entry, on any "most favored nation" basis, look out for American wages to come down with a run. It will be like a rush down a toboggan slide. Nothing but the voice of the people can avert it! Selfish people will buy Ger-

man goods if they are cheaper than those made at home by loyal hands.

Don't go to sleep on this job!

#### Disloyalty in Public Schools.

Recently there has come into view another Exhibit of Sleepy America. It is labeled "Disloyalty and Kaiserism in the Public Schools."

After twenty years of snoring, about one-tenth of one per cent. of the American people have aroused sufficiently to realize that for twenty years the greedy Huns have been thrusting and driving and worming the German language into American public schools; and along with it there have been jammed into the hands of American school pupils hundreds of thousands of German readers which openly and brazenly extol the Kaiser and the military power of Germany, and pan-Germanism generally.

All this is deliberate, intentional and crafty Hun propaganda, for the purpose of holding every German in America, and their sons and daughters, tightly in line to serve the Kaiser whenever occasion arises for the use of German power in America. It now is seen how thoroughly that fixed policy is established and backed up with money and influence by the wolves of Berlin.

This situation was first exposed in New York City in the six weeks between December 1, 1917, and the middle of January, 1918. It was brought about chiefly by the movement of the American Defense Society against disloyal teachers in the public schools, coupled with a demand for the expulsion of the German language from all the schools of New York.

The following catalogue of occurrences will serve as an index of the varieties of patriotism of the boards of education mentioned:

# The German Language in Public Schools, on Jan. 15, 1918.

New York has voted to drop German from 52 elementary schools, and cut out the German readers from the high schools.

Boston has bravely and patriotically (?) decided to continue to teach German in her schools.

Springfield, Mass. No action taken.

Pittsburgh has burned \$3,500 worth of Hun text books, and is considering the drop act.

Connellsville, Pa. High School pupils by a vote cast out German, entirely.

Cincinnati has dropped German from her elementary schools.

Cleveland has considered the situation, but no decisive or adequate American action has been taken.

Milwaukee has dropped German from her five lowest grades only.

Buffalo has not yet had the courage to drop the Hun tongue.

Syracuse is equally asleep on her job.

Philadelphia's politicians are afraid to say "No" to German.

Minnesota's Public Safety (?) Commission has whitewashed the German language in the public schools of the state, and the teaching of it goes on. And this in the state of gallant and patriotic Senator Knute Nelson! The official "white list" of Hun books is a side-step from the real duty of the hour.

Los Angeles has thrown out German, and locked up the German books in her Public Library.

The question is, how long will it take to convince ignorant, weak-kneed and pro-German boards of education in the United States that it is folly, and an utter waste of good money and time, to teach to American youth the language of our deadliest enemy,— the enemy that would tear the very heart out of America if it could? How long, oh Lord! how long will it take the American people to WAKE UP?

But wait! A year from now, through the counting of their dead and the carrying of their wounded, the work of the Hun will make an impression on the sleepy ones. Twelve months from this date loyalty to the flag will not be regarded as lightly by some people as it now is.

We will see, a year from now, where the German language will be in America.



Poisoning His Mind Rollin Kirby in the New York "Evening World."



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## CHAPTER VIII

# The Dangers of an Inconclusive Peace

"We must not look for permanent peace as a result of this war. Heaven defend Germany from that!"—O. A. H. Schmitz, in "The Real Germany: The Regeneration through the War," p. 19.

On Jan. 8, 1918, the newspapers of the United States published a dispatch from Switzerland as quoted below, under the caption:

# Urges German Seizure of All Occupied Land.

## "No Consideration of Humanity" Possible, Says Von Lieb

Zurich, Jan. 8.—"We must recognize only one principle, that might is right, and must know neither sentiment nor consideration of humanity or compassion," said Gen. von Lieb in a speech before the German Conservative Congress at Halle, Prussia, in which he declared that Germany must have Courland, Belgium and northern France.

"We will incorporate Courland, bringing in sixty million Russians, and the Slav nightmare will then ride us no longer," he declared.

"We must have Belgium and northern France," he continued. "The curse of God is upon the French. The Portuguese possessions must disappear.

"France must pay until bled white.

"You may call me Jingo, Chauvinist or anything you like, but we must have a strong peace."

The American people are persistently, and even viciously, prone to be too generous, too magnanimous, and to "chide mildly the erring" even when the erring deserves the swift kick into outer darkness. It looks as if there are more soft-hearted people in America per square mile than in any other country on earth except Russia, where the "soldiers" once voted in the trenches on attacking or not attacking their foes.

Had Sir Roger Casement come up against the United States instead of England, we never would have had the sand to hang the wretch; not in a thousand years. Will we ever muster up enough courage to shoot even one spy, one bomber, one factory burner, or I. W. W. prophet of sabotage?

For every black-hearted murderer that we do finally manage to convict, there always is some one to protest: "I don't believe in capital punishment." One governor of Kansas was so shamelessly derelict in his duty that several murderers were not hanged because he whiningly insisted that "There is no law to compel me to sign a death warrant" Can you beat that?

As soon as our boys in France begin to go over the top, and the casualty lists and the wounded begin to come back, all the traitors in America will intensify the howl for "Peace! peace!" and "Peace, at any price," just as the northern copperheads did during our Civil War.

The President made a bad mistake when he said "We have no quarrel with the people of Germany!" To-day his enemies and our enemies in the "People's Council" are using that speech to plague him. Every book that thus far has been written about the interior of Germany by eye-witnesses proclaims on every page the President's error. Let him who doubts it read any one of the following authors:

Ambassador Gerard, "My Four Years in Germany." E. T. Curtin, "The Land of Deepening Shadows."

Carl W. Ackermann, "Germany, the Next Republic."

William Archer's anthology, "Gems (?) of German Thought."

I ask no man to take my unsupported word on anything concerning the German "people." But let him who has a soft spot in his heart for them,— the very "people" who adore Hindenburg and the other authors of a million German atrocities,— consult the eyewitnesses. We were fooled about the "German people," once upon a time, before the eye-witness records and the German-soldier diaries began to come over. After that we knew, as you may know if you will.

That fully 95 per cent. of the German people lick the boots of the bloody Kaiser and the military caste. cringe and crawl before them, and admiringly do their bidding, needs no proof. That for thirty years or more all the "German people," joyously and lavishly prepared for the "great war," is proven a thousand times over by German writers and lecturers. Read Archer's "Gems (?) of German Thought"—if you really do need to have your eyes opened. All Germany felt the need of "expansion." The swelled head was due to burst all bounds. Egotism and bragging and megalomania, glorying in brute force, the thought of killing other people in war, and German expansion, became obsessions. Germany had, at the last, no gods but war gods! The Kiel Canal was dug not for commerce but for conquest; and the very moment that the widening of it was completed Germany began her longdesired war.

And think of the flimsy character of the pretext. An Austrian prince was murdered, by an Austrian, in an Austrian city. And forthwith Austria, egged on by the military gang of Potsdam, roughly and brutally laid the blame at the door of the Servian government,—which was no more to blame for the murder than were the people of Mexico. In Germany that murder was regarded as a special act of Providence, to afford an excuse for the long-desired war for "expansion," and the "crushing" of France and England! Sixteen years previously Count von Goetzen predicted, to Major H. A. Barber, U. S. A., that Germany would "begin her great war" in 1913! He was only one year out of the way! Here is that prophecy, in full. It was first published in the New York "Tribune" on Aug., 11, 1915, and again on September 27, 1917.

### COUNT VON GOETZEN'S PROPHECY,

As Major Barber Dictated It to the Author's Stenographer.

"At the close of the Spanish-American War I was returning on the Santee — I think it was — from Santiago, Cuba, to Montauk Point. The ship was carrying two troops of the 9th Cavalry, some companies of Michigan volunteers and three or four companies of regular infantry. On board there was a military attaché from Germany, Count von Goetzen, a personal friend of the Kaiser. There was also an attaché from some South American country, possibly Argentina.

"Apropos of a discussion between Count von Goetzen and myself on the friction between Admiral Dewey and the German admiral at Manila, von Goetzen said to me: 'I will tell you something which you better make note of. I am not afraid to tell you this, because if you do speak of it no one would believe you, and everybody will laugh at you.

"'About fifteen years from now my country will start her great war. She will be in Paris in about two months after the commencement of hostilities. Her move on Paris will be but a step to her real object—the crushing of England. Everything will move like clockwork. We will be prepared

and others will not be prepared. I speak of this because of the connection which it will have with your own country.

"'Some months after we finish our work in Europe we will take New York, and probably Washington, and hold them for some time. We will put your country in its place with reference to Germany. We do not purpose to take any of your territory, but we do intend to take a billion or more dollars from New York and other places. The Monroe Doctrine will be taken charge of by us, as we will then have put you in your place, and we will take charge of South America, as far as we wish to. I have no hostility toward your country. I like it; but we have to go our own way. Don't forget this; and about fifteen years from now remember it and it will interest you.'

"Count von Goetzen, it will be found, was a personal friend of the Kaiser, and afterward was employed on an important mission in China. He died some months before the breaking out of this war, probably a year. He was married to an American woman."

In November, 1913, an American lady who recently had returned after eight years of residence in Vienna very confidently predicted, in my office, that "in six months there will be a grand explosion," in Austria and Europe. She missed it by only two months!

If the murder of Sarajevo had not occurred, some other pretext for war undoubtedly would have been found by Germany and Austria.

The German "people" who joyously rushed into the war, expecting the complete crushing of France and Russia "before the leaves are off the trees," and another staggering indemnity in money and territory; the "people" who danced with joy over the Lusitania "victory," have seen their adored German armies licked out of their boots on many battlefields. They have seen the whole Germany navy and merchant marine quickly and completely swept from the seven seas. They have felt the belly-pinch of hunger, they have eaten dirt and wood pulp, and they have counted up at least 1,500,000 of their dead. Now they begin to feel the hatred of the world. They see that Germany never will win the war,—and now they very generously offer the unyielding Allies a German-made peace, which will leave Germany in the saddle, and in good shape to start another war ten years hence!

At first the German "people" wanted all northern France, all Belgium, all Poland, easy access to India and Egypt, all Mesopotamia and war indemnities that would cover all of the dear fatherland's war expenses. Now, with pious magnanimity they reduce their terms to "no annexations and no indemnities." The generosity of this concession moves us to the verge of tears.

Will any considerable number of intelligent Americans be deceived by it, for longer than one moment? I think not. But beware the dough-faced slacker, the pro-German "pacifist," and the cowardly "conscientious objector" who wants some other man to do his share of the fighting. Beware of the careless man, who "don't know much about the war, anyway." He can easily become a menace to the welfare of this nation.

The murder, the outraging and three years of diligent looting and destruction of Belgium, demands for Belgium, from Germany, \$5,000,000,000 in cash, and not a penny less. The outrage upon France demands a like sum, and the cession to France of her two provinces, Alsace and Lorraine. England is entitled to all of Germany's lost colonies in Africa that do not naturally go to France, Belgium and Portugal; and having

taken them "for keeps," there is no occasion to worry about them.

Australia and New Zealand will keep New Guinea and its environs, and Samoa, until the crack of doom. Japan is fully entitled to Kiaochow; and having taken it by a gallant feat of arms, she will hold it forever. This time we think that no three nations will again conspire to rob Japan of the fruits of her victory as once before was done, in the treaty of Shimanoseki. The price to pay afterward is too high!

Just what we will want from Germany when the reckoning is paid, remains to be decided; but the Hun will in some way pay for his crimes in America, and against America on the high seas. For one thing, we shall keep every German ship that we have taken, as part compensation for Hun injuries to us.

The peace shouters of America must not be permitted to prevail. Any further "peace" campaigning by these parties, and others like them, should be treated as disloyalty to the government; which it certainly is. It is time for all those who have subscribed men and money to the government for the purpose of beating the dirtiest and meanest nation on earth to serve notice on the alien socialists, "pacifists," I. W. W.'s, slackers and traitors that they have reached the jumping-off place.

Either the peace-shouters are as ignorant as so many children of the true sentiments and the impulses of the German people, or else they are at heart allies of the Kaiser, and anxious for pan-Germanism to win out against the cause of human liberty. Either one or the other, and there is no room for dodging or side-stepping these two alternatives.

To the American who has not read about two dozen books and pamphlets of the pan-Germans, or better still, William Archer's sledgehammer "Gems (?) of German Thought," there is no such thing as fully comprehending the colossal egotism, the greediness, the lust for more power and the ruthlessness of the German mind. These precious "Gems (?)" are 501 in number, representing 119 different authors, and they range all the way from Kaiser Wilhelm down to the Germanized renegade, H. S. Chamberlain. They can be bought in permanent book form of Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, for \$1.25, and they are worth double the money.

Consider the following samples:

#### 1. Germany's Colossal Egotism.

The German is a hero born, and believes that he can hack and hew his way through life.— Treitschke.

The German people must rise as a master-folk above the inferior peoples of Europe and the primitive peoples of the colonies.— A Pan-German.

The German people is (sic) always right, because it is the German people, and numbers eighty-seven million souls.— Tannenberg.

We must vanquish, because the downfall of Germanism would mean the downfall of humanity.—Pastor K. Konig.

God defend the noble cause of Deutschthum. There is no other hope for humanity.— H. S. Chamberlain.

If we come out victorious in this war, we shall be the first people on the earth. A rich stream of gold will pour over our land, and this greatness, these riches, may be a blessing to us if we always remember that true greatness, true riches, lie only in the possession of moral advantages, and that to the fact of our possessing such advantages we owe our success.—W. Helm.

#### 2. German Ruthlessness in German Eyes.

The German soldiers alone are thoroughly disciplined, and have never so much as hurt a hair of a single innocent human being.— H. S. Chamberlain.



#### THE LEPER OF POTSDAM

By W. A. Ireland, in the Columbus, Ohio, "Dispatch."

This picture of the scorn and aversion of mankind is truthful and just.

This picture of the scorn and aversion of mankind is truthful and just. It represents the world's greatest criminal!

It shows THE MAN who ALONE is responsible for this war.

And Bloody Kaiser William is the man to be held responsible for a million German and Turkish crimes.

Not one word ever has come from him against rape, murder, arson, robbery, poisoning or starvation of helpless peoples.

Judged by his record, Kaiser William is the most inhuman monster that ever lived.

The scorn and the hatred of the world will follow him a thousand years through the annals of crime.

It is perfectly just for history to write down William the Accursed as the Leper of Potsdam. He, and he alone, is all-responsible for all the atrocities committed by Germany in this war. With his rasping voice and his domineering and wolfish temper, by ten words either written or spoken, he could have made all the side atrocities and "frightfulness" of his war impossible. He, by one stern command to the bloody, brutal but subservient German-vassal Turks could have prevented the massacre of 800,000 helpless Armenian Christians. And to-day, by the silent consent of William the Accursed, the Turks are finishing up the extermination of the Armenians! Armenians!

From all sides testimonies are flowing in as to the noble manner in which our troops conduct the war.—Pastor J. Rump.

We see everywhere how our soldiers respect the sacred defenselessness of woman and child.—Prof. G. Roethe.

Terrorism is seen to be a relatively gentle procedure, useful to keep in a state of obedience to the masses of the people.—Gen. Hartmann.

I warn you against pity.— Nietzsche.

The more pitiless is the væ victis, the greater is the security of the ensuing peace. In the days of old, conquered peoples were completely annihilated. To-day, this is physically impracticable, but we can imagine conditions which should approach very closely to total destruction.—" By a German."

Whoever cannot prevail upon himself to approve from the bottom of his heart the sinking of the Lusitania,—whoever cannot conquer his sense of the gigantic cruelty to unnumbered perfectly innocent victims, and give himself up to honest delight at this victorious exploit of German defensive power,—him we judge to be no true German.—Pastor D. Baumgarten, in a discourse on "The Sermon on the Mount."

## 3. Germany After the War.

Germany, as the preponderant Power in a Great-German League, will with this war attain world supremacy.—Prof. W. Blume.

Germany will be the schoolmaster of all the world, as every German has a bit of the schoolmaster in him.

The war must last until we have forced disarmament upon our enemies. . . . Since the enemy States behave so childishly as to misuse their arms, they must be placed under tutelage. Moreover, our enemies have acted so dishonorably that it is only just that rights of citizenship should be denied them.— O. Siemens.

Just such a systematic transformation of the world as Augustus effected, Germany must now undertake, but on how much nobler a plan.— H. S. Chamberlain.

And there you have it, fellow-citizens! How do you like the prospect?

For the past two years the slogan in Germany has been, says Mr. Gerard, "Gott strafe America."

Mr. Gerard found it stamped in red on (heavily depreciated!) German paper money.

We hear that already the always-forehanded German Authority is laying the foundations for a new national subsidized industry.—the breeding of postbellum Germans. With apologies to the reader I offer the following interesting bit of next-war literature, from the columns of the Crefeld "General Anzeiger," and republished here by the American Defense Society. Of course the dullest American knows that nothing of this kind ever is published in a German newspaper without the approval and the permission of the government.

## GERMAN WIDOWS MUST RE-MARRY SO THAT THEIR CHILDREN MAY FIGHT ANOTHER WAR

"There are more than a million war widows in Germany. They cannot be allowed to remain widows, for two reasons. In the first place, the empire looks to them to provide an army for Germany's future defense, and in the next place, many of them are attending to the business of their late husbands without possessing the necessary knowledge.

All the widows must, therefore, get married at once, and preferably to wounded or otherwise unfit soldiers. They may rest assured that the National Committee for the Remarriage of War Widows will handle the business with the requisite discretion. The Committee will pay special attention to men in the hospitals, and will insert anonymous advertisements in the papers generally read by war widows.

"It may be added that the utilization of crippled soldiers and war-stricken women in the interests of the empire's future wars has the cordial approval of

our great Hindenburg."

But why should the war widows take the trouble to marry the maimed soldiers when "official" pregnancy is so cheap? We marvel at the self-sacrifice called for by the German Authority. Surely the "General Anzeiger" knows what it is for an unmarried woman to be encouraged to promote the new industry. No? Well, let us offer, as Exhibit A, a copy of a letter received not long ago by a New York lady from her maid on the new firing line in Berlin. It runs as follows:

"Dear Madam B----

"I write now to tell you that I can not come to "Amerika back. I am now my country serving in the "only way a German girl can her dear country serve "by the war. I am officially pregnant, as also is my "sister, and we are promised by the Government al-"ready that it will give good care to our children. We are very happy, and we expect two good soldiers to "fight for Germany in the next war.

"Yours respectfully
"Hedwig K---"

Germany never again will remain at peace with any of her present enemies, save a peace of Force and Fear; and she never will disarm. Even during the retreat of the Chinless Hero (!) of Verdun from the unhealthful vicinity of the Chemin des Dames, the pan-Germanists at Berlin were smoking opium and dreaming pipe dreams of colonial empires after the war. The German Colonial Society, which claims 250 branches in Germany, is headed by W. S. Solf, the Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Mecklenburg and our old friend Dr. B. Dernburg. The program of the Society demands a treaty of peace that will provide such an

empire in South America, after the war. (South American papers please copy!)

The Society cheerfully demands an outfit of colonies "suitable for white colonization"; but just how Germany will find civilized white men who will try to inhabit them on her initiative, we can not imagine.

The "program" says that:

"The great needs of Germany and her Allies require the possession of a great colonial empire, and it means the not being hindered by pusillanimous scruples!"

In the name of all the South American republics we say: Thanks, awfully! But we wonder where their interests come in.

The answers to the questions concerning Germany after the war are not impossible to find.

- I. The Huns can not be compelled to disarm, and stay disarmed.
- 2. The Entente Allies must form a United States of Europe for self defense, and remain armed at all times, on land and sea, sufficiently to enforce peace against the mad-dogs of Berlin. Complete disarming would be suicidal folly.
- 3. In this the United States must take up her share of the white man's burden. We must maintain at least 250,000 first-line fighting men, 750,000 fully armed reserves, and a navy and air fleet that can at all times beat those of Germany, alone and single-handed.

In view of the lessons of the past three years, and the state of things at this time, do we hear from sensible and loyal Americans any objections to that program?

#### CHAPTER IX

# In Time of War, Prepare for Peace

All high-minded and kind-hearted Americans who do not yet believe in a boycott against German goods will do well to read and remember the following passage from "The Audacious War" by C. W. Barron, page 174.

"But what do we think when we find that Germany has for years run a boycott against every American enterprise? . . . All American motor car companies, all American tobacco interests, and, in fact, all foreign companies are boycotted, or barred, or worked against throughout Germany. Placards in shop windows say, 'Don't buy foreign goods. Keep the money in Germany."

What shall we say of Americans who tamely swallow such treatment as that, and are too weak in the knees to repay Germany in kind?

All the nations now engaged in the war, and five or six neutrals also, will emerge from the conflict overloaded with cripples and pensionnaires, with many of their regular industries dead, and every living soul enormously burdened with national debt. If Germany is not now on the verge of sweeping national bankruptcy and financial ruin, then no great nation ever was. And alas! Germany never can repudiate her war bonds. They are all held in Germany, and to do so would at once ruin every one of her banks.

The conversion of war industries back into peaceful industries will, at the close of the war, put upon every warring nation a great strain. The change from peace to a war basis was made quickly, because of fixed government contracts and certain payments. The reverse of the industrial engine after the war must be made on a very different basis,—that of regular business only, along the old lines, with no government orders on which to rely.

Of all the great powers,— England, France, Italy, Russia, America, Germany and Austria,— the peaceful industries of Germany are the most thoroughly and universally dead. Germany to-day is ruined, both financially and industrially; but her domineering spirit remains; and of all the greater powers, the government of Germany is the one that is most masterfully centralized, and the most thoroughly skilled in the business of artificially stimulating national industries. It was that experience and national sharp practice that in thirty years made Germany the greatest commercial nation in the world.

After the war, the nations now in the conflict will require long months, and in some cases it will be years, to recover from the shock, readjust themselves and begin again along the old lines of peaceful industry.

Germany will make a gigantic effort to be the first to get upon her feet. Already her feverishly-forehanded government is busily planning campaigns to regain all, and more, of her lost industrial and commercial supremacy, and to get a firm strangle hold upon the resources and people of Russia. No other nation is doing that,—so far as we can learn; but France is wide awake and is educating her people to keep the rascals out.

The instant the war closes, Germany will begin a tremendous campaign to get hold, by hook or by crook, by fair means or foul, of every market in the world in which her goods can be sold. The government will back these efforts, diligently and persistently, and the rival government that does not help its own people by every legitimate means to get and to hold their place in the sun, very soon will be shoved aside by the power of the Teutonic Push. Let us watch and see what nation dares to go to sleep on that prospect.

After the war, no matter what the terms of peace, Austria, Bulgaria, Russia and Turkey will be Germany's vassals. They will adopt a uniform commercial policy against the rest of the world, and mercilessly devote themselves to fostering their own interests.

The vigor of the German trade drive will be almost inconceivable; and if American, British, French, Belgian and Italian industrialists do not prepare now to meet what is coming, they will meet a surprise as great as that of August, 1914! If the working people of America, and particularly the masses of organized labor, do not promptly line up for a grand push for South American trade, then so much the worse for them. We soon will see the day when every fomentor of strikes will be regarded as a public enemy,— just as they are to-day! Let American Labor now take a solemn warning from the ghastly exhibition of incompetence, folly, ignorance and general asininity of the "Soldiers and Workmen" of Russia. There we see

the effect of the overthrow of the laws of Common Sense; and it is a saddening sight.

Germany has too much of discipline for the individual, too much of Authority, too much subservience, and too great cohesion. Of all those things, America and England both have too little. We are too independent, too impatient of discipline and restraint, too much opposed to system, and too "cockey." Our national traditions are one and all against us; and a great many ignorant and demagogic men are elected to office to make laws on subjects utterly new to them. For example, for sixty years prior to 1914 our merchant marine received no help whatever from our government to enable it to recover from its wreck and ruin by privateers during our civil war. There were times when it was as much as a Congressman's political life was worth to say "ship subsidies." But ship subsidies were just what should have been granted, generously and persistently, until our ocean ship service to South America was at least one-half what it should have been.

But "No! No subsidies! Never!" And so our trade with South America was easily taken from us by the freely subsidized ships of Germany and England. A very considerable portion of our freight from South America to New York reached us via Liverpool!

Can you match that for commercial folly?

Already the German government is planning great combinations for buying raw materials in vast quantities, for the whole empire in fact,—in order to buy more cheaply than her rivals. Equally powerful selling combinations will be effected. At the same time, Germans will be compelled to spend their money for

the luxuries of life in Germany, and upon the products of Germany!

It is this same ceaseless and powerful government backing that before the war had delivered so much of the world's commerce and wealth into Teutonic hands. In 1913 Germany was the dominant commercial power of the world. She means to be so again. All the previous efforts of German enterprises, and combinations of makers and sellers, will be thrown completely in the shade by the herculean efforts that will be put forth after this war. The German government knows how to back German industries right out to six decimal places, and its effectiveness is a model for America,—which (I fear) America never will have the sense and the courage to follow!

And what think you will our government do to enable our producers of raw materials, and our manufacturers and working people, to hold their own against the power of the Teutonic Push? The final answer must come from Congress; but part of it can be given now, in advance.

For promoting business and protecting wild life, an absolute monarchy is the best and strongest of all government backers; and a republic like the United States of America is incomparably the worst. The moment efforts are undertaken in Congress to match Germany's great combines for buying raw materials with American combines for selling raw materials, there will be raised the usual howl about "trusts" and "combines," as if everything of the kind were inventions of the devil.

For example: The moment our government seriously proposes to take hold and build up the dye-making industry by a prohibitive tariff on German dyes,

that moment will a grand hue and cry be raised of "favoritism," "robber tariff," "Chinese wall," "robbing the poor workingman," "tax on the consumer" and so on. Any member of Congress who advocates beating Germany at her own game will be branded as "a tool of corporate wealth," the "friend of trusts" and "a capitalistic foe of labor."

The result will be, as sure as the world stands, endless bickerings and recriminations, the bulldozing of every man with advanced ideas, and no results that will amount to shucks. Mark my word! The German dye-makers will recapture the American market; and they will do it easily! The suspicion, the ignorance and the jealousies of certain Senators at Washington—two very distinct types of the demagogue and the public drag on prosperity,—will in the end defeat fully one-half of the new after-the-war legislation that our country will need in order to counteract the steam-roller activities of Germans that will be backed early and late by a highly centralized autocratic government that knows how to get results, and is not afraid.

One factor that might save the day for us against the coming German drive would be a series of gentlemen's agreements, of course without governmental backing. If our cotton growers and copper miners permit the German government to come kere and by means of a huge purchasing commission dictate the price of cotton and copper, then our people will richly deserve to be beaten at their own game, and on their home grounds. If Americans are not capable of centralizing their power, then let them sell cheap and buy dear for the enrichment of our enemies.

Again we will see the German insurance companies sending out their agents, and seeking to insure \$2,853,190,000 worth of risks, with assets in the United States to back it up of only \$27,772,000,— or less than one cent for each dollar of risk! That was the state of things here on December 31, 1916, when this situation was taken in hand by Mr. Richard M. Hurd, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the American Defense Society. Thanks to those efforts, the German insurance companies of the United States were one and all put out of business.

Will the American people again take their grist to Germany's insurance mill on that basis, or any other basis?

After the war, will Americans get their own, and hold it? Time alone can tell. Already (October 30, 1917) the U. S. Tariff Commission is showing unmistakable signs of structural weakness. Its new press bulletin, foreshadowing magnanimity to Germany after the war, and encouragement of trade with that nation, is thoroughly disquieting.

There is one other thing to which American labor may well give heed, now, and prepare to take action.

After the war, America will be more than ever the Dumping Ground of All Nations. Already the taxpayers of the State of New York are paying out \$2,866,014.48 per year in the support of a horde of 9,492 insane aliens, all of whom should have been sent back to their native lands! To the millions of penniless war victims of the Balkan states, Russia, Germany and Austria this country will be a wonderful paradise,

• .

the homicidal mania; and whenever she fixes her greedy, bloodshot eye upon a concession or a territory in South America, or an island in the sea, she will "rattle the sword in the scabbard" and shake her dirty and blood-stained "mailed fist" until she either gets it or is driven off by force.

When this war ends, all the Latin-American states will do well to say their battle prayers, for some of them surely will find Germany-ueber-alles trying to land astride their necks. Already Germany is looking toward South America for her post-bellum sphere of influence; and she vows that she must and will have "territory fit for white men," in which to "expand."

South America, take warning, and Prepare!

At the close of the war, whenever it comes, there will be extensive disarmings of unnecessary troops. But in that, we must pay good heed to the future. Of first line troops we should have, always on the job, not less than 250,000 picked men. Of reserves, we will not be safe with any fewer than 750,000, ready for quick mobilization, with a wealth of transports, colliers and supply ships. At the same time our navy must be made, and always kept, superior to that of Germany. We have sinned once, through sleepy-headedness and folly, but hereafter we must let no peace shouters, or slackers, or traitors chloroform Congress, ever again.

Finally, when the war ends, and Germany instantly demands a commercial treaty with the United States containing a "most-favored-nation" clause, stop and consider Germany's record, look at the innocent blood upon Germania's hands and garments, and then tell her to go hang herself. The idea of treating Germany

upon the same footing as England, France, Belgium and Italy is loathsome and repulsive. The loyal and clean portion of the people of the United States will wish no friendly relations and no commerce with the nation whose officers and soldiers murder old men and old women, and rape and murder women of all ages, and children down to eight years old!

Make treaties of commerce and friendship with wolves and mad-dogs, with wolverines and skunks, if you think best; but with the Huns,— NEVER!

#### CHAPTER X

## The Menace of Alien Socialism

Germany has made herself the tremendous power that she is partly by welding together and maintaining her Germanic stock, and by as far as possible preventing mixtures with the Slavic race. That is one reason why the millions of Germany to-day are a unit, working like one vast machine, to serve the one purpose of expanding, domineering, grasping, and setting "Germany over all."

Now, is this example lost on Americans, or not? Read General Bernhardi's last book, "Britain as Germany's Vassal," page 75.

Here in America, ever since the United States began housekeeping, we have pursued an exactly opposite course. Not only have we permitted the continuous inflow of alien races from all quarters of the globe, but we have fostered and encouraged it. Under the fatal spell of our perfectly idiotic eagerness for quantity in immigration, we have flung aside nearly all considerations making for quality! Along with desirable accessions, which have done much to build up this country, America has become the dumping-ground for the ashes and the cinders of all nations. Until very recently, along with desirable immigrants, we have welcomed the lame and the lazy, the ignorant, the vicious, the veneered criminal and the "assisted"

immigrant with envy in his eye, greed in his heart, and a knife inside his shirt, all coming to exploit America for their own benefit.

If you doubt this statement, pause long enough to think of the 9,482 insane aliens in the asylums of the State of New York alone, supported by you and me and our neighbors, at an annual cost of \$2,866,014; and also think of the alien criminal records of New York, New Orleans, Chicago and other cities. And yet even to-day there are "statesmen" so blind that they refuse to put any substantial check upon the inflow of ignorance. Oh, God! Give us Great Leaders to handle this problem! Give us Men who are not afraid!

Starting in with national stock from Great Britain, France and Spain, we have crossed with nearly every other race under the sun, and produced half-breeds and mulattoes galore.

Some cheerful optimists try to make the best of this mixture by claiming that it will produce "a stronger American type." Let those think so who can. For every betterment that has come to us from across the sea we have received at least one deterioration. Presently the Anglo-Saxon stock will disappear, by submergence, and the result will be a nation of indecipherables, mongrels, with the mental handicaps and the vices of all contributors sharply accentuated. Our joyous mixing of races has not been all to the good, by any means.

Meanwhile, we will have to deal with several other disturbing elements, and take our chances of survival. The present domineering and greedy temper of Bolshevik "labor" toward Work and Capital, and the desire

of the middleman to rob the Consumer, steadily will become more menacing and dangerous,—until the grand break comes. The crisis may be precipitated by the deflation of the War Boom, the drop in the price of labor, and the continuous robbery of the consumer by high prices, and greedy monopolies like the fish trust.

Meanwhile we have to reckon with alien socialism, which day by day is becoming more bold, more clamorous, and in the large cities more ugly and dangerous. We must be prepared for a clash with that element, for the socialists themselves predict that it surely is coming.

Until our war with the barbarians of Europe is well over and done with, the Russian brand of socialism in America is a menace to be reckoned with. In our easy-going and slipshod way, which very often finds us sleeping beside anarchists, gunmen and political hoboes of a dozen different kinds, we have tolerated a fast-growing colony of rattlesnakes that now in a crisis boldly crawl out in the open and defy us.

But there are also socialists of quite another sort, who in a national crisis are loyal and dependable. There is a group of American socialists, represented by such men as Charles Edward Russell, James Spargo, W. E. Walling, Charles Noel Douglas and Meyer London,—all of whom have been read out of the alien socialist party because of their patriotism. Mr. J. G. Phelps Stokes left that party because of the rank cowardice, disloyalty and "peace"-shouting within it.

The Russian brand of socialism is a menace of European origin, fostered by men who do not recognize the difference between this preposterously "free" country and a galling despotism. Whether in Russia, England, France or America, it is always "against the government!" It aims to keep just this side of pronounced anarchy and the grasp of the law, and it has strong leanings toward free love. It is founded on envy, jealousy, professional discontent, hatred of prosperous people and the talking habit. Always and forever it wants something for nothing; and the step from order to violence is mighty short and easy. Once that step is taken, its name changes, and the socialist becomes a confessed anarchist, armed with bomb and torch.

Politically, the platform of the dyed-in-the-wool socialist candidate for public office is brief and simple. In return for votes he pledges himself to give the ignorant and needy voter three things,—higher wages, shorter hours and lower taxes! Can any one beat that combination as a lure for the ignorant man working for wages, and ambitious to have his family supplied with some of the luxuries of life?

To men who think, it seems absurd for a man to pledge in one breath "more public improvements and lower taxes"; but it netted a great haul of gudgeons in Schenectady,—and in true confiscation fashion it saddled 40 per cent. of the city taxes upon two streets! A similar mayor occurred in Milwaukee. Of course both those socialist mayors failed completely in the delivery of the goods, for more improvements do not go with lower taxes; but that never feazed the socialists.

Now, experiments of that kind are not always a calamity to sensible people. While they always unsettle the labor situation, make the disgruntled ones more sore than before, and tend strongly to produce strikes, an American socialist mayor is not necessarily a looter and a public scourge.

In piping times of peace, the best of the socialists are not so bad; but in a national crisis the worst of them are a dangerous menace. Hilkowitz "don't stand behind the President," he is opposed to military service, will not buy Liberty bonds, and he is in favor of the peace that Germany wants; and therein is the full measure of the disloyal pro-German-alien-socialist element in New York City, the metropolis of the western hemisphere.

On Tuesday, November 6, in the vote for a new mayor of New York, Morris Hillquit, born in Riga, Russia, received 142,178 votes, and the clean and loyal war Mayor, John Purroy Mitchel, as a candidate for re-election received only 149,300!

I have before me now a letter on the stationery of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society (70 Fifth Avenue), and I think it will give the reader a shock. It bears the names of sixty American universities and colleges, great and small, and it shows how thoroughly honeycombed and tunneled are our higher institutions of learning by socialism. I deem it my duty to reproduce it, just as it stands, so that the reader can judge for himself, and in order that these American socialists can see where they stand to-day, with alien socialism in the field.

Now the returns from all that teaching of false and pernicious doctrine are coming in; and Hillquit and Dana, Cattell and Nearing are the natural products of socialism and its doctrines. It is not, however, to be saddled with the burden of William Bayard Hale and John Haynes Holmes.



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LETTER-HEAD OF THE AMERICAN SOCIALISTS BEFORE THE WAR Showing representation in the colleges and universities of America

Every wrong in the treatment of the citizen can be righted by an appeal to reason, and without resort to the handmaid of anarchy.

In view of the rise of Hillquit, and his brand of alien socialism, the American socialists are brought face to face with a serious situation. Henceforth all the socialists of America will be judged by the Russian standard. What do such men as Dr. J. G. Phelps Stokes of Yale, Prof. Geo. McL. Harper of Princeton, Prof. F. L. Kennedy of Harvard, and Prof. W. F. Badé of the University of California think to-day of the socialists now most in the public eye, and who now are setting the pace for the socialists of America?

"Come out from among them, my people!" saith the prophet. The name of your party has been irretrievably disgraced. The odium of continued associations with the Bolsheviki and the I. W. W. gang is not for you. You and the students of your institutions are not disloyal; you do not oppose the war for liberty; you do not discourage enlistments or curse the draft; and you do not refuse to subscribe to the Liberty bonds which represent a part of the price we have to pay for the liberty of mankind.

It is time for all the American socialists to make a sweeping change in the name of their party, and cast out from their ranks all the American Bolsheviki.

The case of Columbia University, in New York, may well be cited as an example of the practical results of socialism in an American institution of learning. I do not know the extent to which socialism as a menace to Columbia was recognized prior to 1914, but we do know this:

On December 18, 1914, the "League for the Limita-

tion of Armaments" was formed in New York, with some very distinguished men at its head, whom in mercy I will not name. It was diametrically opposed to the objects that the patriotic defense societies then organized, and being organized, were intended to promote; and personally it abraded the nerves of a great many patriotic citizens. The President of that organization to prevent the arming of the nation for self-defense, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, was very active. Representatives of that misguided League appeared before the Congressional committees on Military and Naval Affairs, and did their utmost to prevent increases in the appropriations intended to provide better defenses for our nation. The League for the Limitations of Armaments was an active force in Congress a full year before the Security League made its influence felt there.

Now, I ask the independent citizen; what was the essential difference between the position of that foolish League in 1915 and that of Morris Hillquit to-day? Tell me, if you can. I think that the position of that body was wholly due to the socialistic influences that were rampant in Columbia University at that time, but which to-day with labor and travail are being stamped out. During the past three years, Trustees Coudert and Clark, and Professors Mitchell, Johnson and Bangs and many others have been fighting hard for the cause of loyalty and pure Americanism at Columbia and everywhere else.

Recently Professors H. W. L. Dana and J. McKeen Cattell have been dropped out of Columbia; and the General Committee of the Alumni Association officially backs up that action; but that Augean stable is

not yet by any means wholly cleaned. On October 25, 1917, a straw vote for mayor was taken at Columbia. John Purroy Mitchel was New York's war mayor,—honest, fair, able, fearless and patriotic to the last drop of his blood. In view of Mr. Hillquit's record in an American University he should have had no following whatever, either against Mr. Mitchel, or against Judge Hylan, the nominee, in good standing, of President Wilson's political party.

And what about that vote at Columbia University? It was reported in the "Tribune" as follows:

For Mitchel, our "war mayor,"	1,065
For Hillquit, pacific, socialist,	903
For Hylan, regular Democrat,	214
For Bennett, regular Republican,	90

# And Hillquit? What of him?

There is nothing that I can say that will show him so thoroughly as to quote some of his own utterances, and the words of two loyal American socialists, Misha Appelbaum and William English Walling. First let us hear Mr. Appelbaum. According to the New York "Times," in a speech at Durland's Academy on October 27, he said to Hillquit:

"I consider your attitude in the war and on the Liberty bonds [openly refusing to buy any bonds] an insult to the Jews and the Socialists, as well as to the American nation, and therefore I cannot support a man who does not maintain his proper sense of respectability to his flag. . . . Mr. Hillquit, you have accumulated a fortune, and it is charged that you have taken \$40,000 from the striking cloakmakers as your

legal fee, at a time when I spent almost a similar amount to help support the strike. Are you fit to be a standardbearer of socialism if you are using corporation methods? Mr. Hillquit, if you maintain that it is ethical for you to invest in a coal stock, which company is making money due to the war, have you the moral right to say you will not purchase Liberty bonds?"

According to the "Tribune," Mr. William English Walling, an American socialist of international reputation, issued a statement on October 27, saying this:

"Morris Hillquit is a traitor to internationalism. Hillquit has committed treason against the working people of the world. Hillquit is a traitor to the oppressed races."

And now let us hear Hillquit upon himself:

"As a Socialist, of course I am opposed to all wars. In this particular case there seems no moral justification for a break. We are being forced into hostilities on the most frivolous pretext imaginable."

At Carnegie Hall, April 2, 1917, Hillquit also said:

"Those [in our country] responsible for getting us into this war are guilty of treason. It is a betrayal so damnable that those responsible for it will go down in history as Judas Iscariots and Benedict Arnolds, and I don't care whether they hold executive positions, parliamentary positions, or editorial places."

There are times when the patience of the American people with men like Hillquit is positively ox-like in its sleepy indifference. It it time to drive all such men out of America, and keep them out! How much longer shall we permit them to grossly abuse our hospitality?

The vote for Hillquit tells the story of the effect of the alien-socialist virus in Columbia University. Hillquit, be it noted, was the attorney for and defender of the three students, Owen Cattell, C. F. Phillips and Eleanor W. Parker, who were arrested and tried for conspiracy to urge men to resist the draft.

We wonder how many other American universities, colleges and other schools are honeycombed with socialism of the Hillquit type? I fear there are many more! President Butler did not realize in 1915 that in striving to thwart the arming of this nation he was playing with fire. He is loyal enough now, and Columbia has sent many student soldiers to the front; but for all that, the University must have a grand house-cleaning before its student body wholly becomes safe for an impressionable American boy.

The appearance just now of a book entitled, "A World in Ferment," vividly recalls its author's astounding address at the Railroad Club, on December 18, 1914, "to organize the League for the Limitation of Armaments," previously mentioned. I wonder what that author thinks of that address to-day. To me it is a literary curiosity, showing how far afield an educated mind can go when it jumps a switch and starts off on a side-track. In all seriousness he spoke of that preposterous "League" as "an offering of constructive leadership in a great movement."

How Bernhardi, and the Kaiser, and Hindenburg would have roared at that, had they heard it!

And later on he said, and printed in a pamphlet:

"In modern democracies the functions of the army and navy are police, philanthropic and sanitary functions."

Now, what is the Man-in-the-Street to think of the Higher Education that produces university men who can seriously think and write such stuff as that? In reckoning up the blame for the total loss of 1915 and 1916 in preparedness, the League for the Limitation of Armaments has something to answer for. Let its blindness and folly at least serve as a warning to others.

But what is "socialism," anyhow?

In some European countries it is a legitimate protest against despotism, absolutism and the infringement of the rights of man. In the Russia of the Czars it was a struggle against systematic ignorance and outrageous tyranny. Nihilism and anarchism was merely socialism carried out to its logical conclusion under a despotic and unjust bureaucracy.

In Germany, before the war socialism was the only concrete protest of a part of the people against the allabsorbing and relentless worship of the brutal German war god, the tyranny of the favored castes, and the enormous burdens and restrictions upon human liberty and labor that it imposed. We incline to the belief that had the Reichstag been a real instead of a fake "parliamentary body," and able to enforce its decisions instead of being a sexless debating society, there would have been no war by Bloody William. In spite of all the Germanic lies, the world knows full well that no one wished to "attack Germany" in 1914, and that the war was deliberately started by the Germans for conquest, for expansion, and the mastering of Great Britain.

But now, the German socialists have changed.

Their voice is all for war,—unless peace can come on Germany's terms. And out of this war the German socialists will get absolutely nothing substantial.

And how is it about the radical socialists of America,—those who are throwing out of their party all the moderates, all the American socialists?

In the first place, they are of exotic birth and growth. The leaders who have not been driven out of that party are Russian Jews who mentally are no more fit to lead "the people" than are the Russian "soldiers" who gave up Galicia to the Germans without firing a shot, and even stole the artillery horses from their field guns in order to ride them in that shameful retreat. And after all the Jew-baiting in Russia, and our government's championship of the Russian Jews, think of the Russian Jews in America who now refuse to buy Liberty bonds, and do everything in their power to promote the peace that Germany wants! What shall we do with such people?

Their influence among the ignorant Jews of New York is very deadly. They tend to discredit all loyal Jews. Really the patriotic Jews of New York should do something to protect their race from the parasites who live by preying upon it, and at times disgrace it.

The teaching and advocacy of this foreign radical socialism should not be permitted in any institution of learning in America. American socialism now is dead; and in the name of common sense, why spread the doctrines of cobras and rattlesnakes?

In the public schools of New York City there are at this moment 83 teachers who on April 25, 1917, signed and sent to the Board of Education a long and earnest protest against having been invited to sign (with 22,000 other teachers, and a million citizens), a simple pledge of loyalty to the President of the United States in this war. When 186 prominent citizens of New York were asked what they thought of those teachers, 176 of them replied in writing that they were disloyal, and should be dismissed. Three of the total of 86 protesting teachers have already been dismissed the service.

Is it not the irony of fate that in 1918 the blatant, yelling and most offensively disloyal element in New York City, and elsewhere throughout the United States, is the very party that for half a century past has in other countries been fighting imperialism, absolutism and tyranny! The Russian socialists are just as bitter and nasty in America toward our government as they were in the land of the Czar to the terrible Russian autocracy. To them American liberty, opportunity and (wholly mistaken!) hospitality means nothing.

"Now," says the New York "World," "we see that it is a hopelessly perverted and abandoned [American] socialist who ventures to look askance at the German Empire, or to utter a kindly sentiment in behalf of Belgium and France."

Here is a crisp and pungent outside opinion on New York, as published by Mr. Charles P. Taft of Cincinnati in his newspaper.

"There has not been a moment since we went into the war when there was not infinitely more disloyalty to the square mile or the thousand of population in New York than in Cincinnati. In New York there is treason, and it is not ashamed. It stalks forth in the daylight; it yells its lungs out on every street corner. ... And Morris Hillquit, the socialist leader of an anti-American mob, who has tried to Bolshevikize New York, received 142,000 votes."

And here is another straight outside opinion:

The Milwaukee "Daily News" says that "the defeat of Hillquit was the defeat of a gang of traitors, slackers and pro-Germans, who masked their true colors behind the banner of socialism."

Here are a few post-election notes:

New York's disloyal alien type of socialists trebled their vote of 1913; but

Schenectady's socialists lost 700 votes, and all their candidates. And the

Buffalo socialists went to pieces at the polls.

Toledo buried the socialists and pro-Germans.

Cincinnati's socialists were snowed under by the patriotic vote, and

Chicago's anti-American socialists were taught a lesson, by 75,000.

There is nowhere living in America or out of it a more devoted patriot, a more fearless advocate of the cause of human rights, or a more logical exponent of the science of Government than Col. Theodore Roosevelt. The man who does not now recognize these three facts is to be pitied. I cannot more fittingly or more profitably continue this chapter than by quoting the following pertinent passages from "The Foes of Our Own Household," pages 168–170.1

"'Advanced' socialists are fond of declaiming against patriotism, of announcing their movement as international, and of claiming to treat all men alike.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Published by the G. H. Doran Company, New York. \$2.00.

As regards patriotism their practice is generally as bad as their preaching. In this war the socialists have played the part of traitors to America, and many sincere men have in consequence left the socialist party,—although, as so many of the socialist leaders here are Germans, and as they have been warm upholders of every revolting act of the German autocracy, they may claim that their patriotism is merely inverted. . . .

"It is not accident that makes thoroughgoing and radical socialists adopt the principles of free love as a necessary sequence to insisting that no man shall have the right to what he earns. When socialism of this really advanced and logical type, or any social system really, although not nominally, akin to it, is tried as it was in France in 1792, and again under the Commune of 1871, it is inevitable that the movement, ushered in with every kind of high-sounding phrase, should rapidly spread so as to include, not merely the forcible acquisition of property of others, but every conceivable form of monetary corruption, immorality, licentiousness, and murderous violence.

"In theory, distinctions can be drawn between this kind of socialism and anarchy and nihilism; but in practice, as in 1871, the apostles of all three act together; and if the doctrines of any of them could be applied universally, all the troubles of society would indeed cease, because society itself would cease. The poor and the helpless, especially women and children, would be the first to die out, and the few survivors would go back to the condition of skin-clad savages, so that the whole painful and laborious work of social development would have to begin over again. Of course, long before such an event really happened the

socialistic régime would have been overturned, and in the reaction men would welcome any kind of one-man tyranny that was compatible with the existence of civilization."

Here is an exhibit from the New York "World" of Nov. 16 which should meet the eye of every loyal American:

# CHEER PROPHECY OF A REVOLUTION HERE

# Socialist Assemblyman-Elect Predicts It at a Cooper Union Meeting

Elmer Rosenberg, Socialist Assemblyman-elect from the sixth District, speaking at a celebration of the Jewish Socialist Federation in Cooper Union last night,

prophesied a revolution in America.

"We love the Germans, the French, the Austrians and the men of all nationalities to-day," he said, "and we will fight for the time when they (the United States Government) will not be able to send us into the trenches to murder each other. They do not love the Bolsheviki in Russia, but there will be more Bolsheviki here.

"Just a little more hanging of Socialists, just a little more tarring and feathering and suppression of Socialist meetings and Socialist newspapers and you will

have a revolution in America.

"If no other element will fight for free speech and free press, we will. The American peasants will drive the Czars out of America.

"We refuse to fight for geographical demarcation.

We will unite all the earth."

Cooper Union was crowded, and every one of Rosenberg's sentences was loudly cheered.

This is the logical conclusion of the alien social-

ists in America. If they do not wake up and reform, the quicker we have it out with them, the better!

The following communication to the New York "World," on Nov. 27, 1917, tells its own story:

#### GERMANIZED SOCIALISM

To the Editor of "The World":

F. A. Sieverman, Jr., asks me to substantiate my charge that the Socialist Party is dominated by German influences. A party must be judged by its actions, not by its protestations. The actions of the Socialist Party from the beginning of the war have been definitely pro-German, so much so that every pro-American leader has resigned or been thrown out of the party. Russell, Lunn, Ghent, Spargo, Walling, Boudin, Ricker, Phelps Stokes and all others who refused to submit to the pro-German program of the party are now ex-members.

What was this program? The Socialist Party pretended that this was a capitalistic war, with both sides equally to blame. If that was true, the Socialist Party had no right to interpret capitalist international law in favor of either side, but in all fairness to let it severely alone. But what

did the Socialist Party do?

Germany, having been the arsenal of the world up to the outbreak of the war, supplying arms and ammunition to all who wished to buy, and hercely opposing any proposition to put an end to the ghastly traffic, experienced a change of heart when she found that the law worked both ways. The capitalists of the United States had the undoubted right to sell munitions to all who came to buy, just as the German capitalists had done, and to change international law in the midst of the war would have been a distinct breach of neutrality in favor of Germany. But the Socialist Party of America fought tooth and nail to help Germany break this German-made law.

Germany, having created an immense army of expert munition workers to supply her II,000,000 fighting men, made a treacherous assault on Belgium and France, seizing the coal and iron mines of both countries to augment her own immense supply of those essential materials. In the East she made still more amazing gains by her readiness for a war of conquest, and then, having laid the solid foundation for a dominating world empire, was ready for peace—a

German peace.

Our Socialists backed her up in this demand for peace, and so it has been with every German demand. Germany wanted an American embargo; so did the Socialists. Germany warned all American ships to keep out of her war zone; so did the Socialists.

German agents have ceaselessly promoted pacifist societies throughout the United States; so have the Socialists.

Mr. Sieverman may protest that the leaders who have left the party are only a small group of biased "intellectuals" and that the great mass of the party is not pro-German. But let any unbiased American go through the districts where Mr. Hillquit got most of his vote and he will find the Socialist voters there are decidedly anti-American from every point of view, and one cannot be anti-American without being pro-German, for neutrality is out of the question now.

Brooklyn, Nov. 24. FABIAN.

Up to this date the worst cobras that ever found shelter under the American hearthstone were the Russian-Jew anarchists long fed, housed and protected by American hospitality in the East Side of New York City. It was there that the Pacifist-Bolshevik breed of anarchists was born. Safe in the shadow of the American flag, and aided by the free-speech and freeassembly fetiches of foolish Americans, they waited and fattened. They lived by agitation and by fomenting labor troubles here, until poor Russia was so weakened by war and internal strife that they dared to come out and strike her.

Do I hear "names" called for?

Certainly I will. With all the pleasure in life. For further particulars address these "pacifist" gentlemen in Petrograd, all save the last two:

- Leon Trotsky, now masquerading as Bolshevik "Minister of Foreign Affairs," assistant chief wrecker of Russia.
- S. Epstein, organizer of the Ladies Waist Makers Union.

- S. Shubin, in New York a Jewish newspaper writer and agitator.
- Dr. Max Goldfarb, formerly a "labor" writer and agitator.
- J. Vostron, organizer of the Jewish Carpenters Union, now a Bolshevik organizer in Moscow.
- Morris Hillquit, the man who "don't stand behind the President," who remains here in New York, boosting the "People's Council."
- Max Eastman also remains in New York, decorating the grave of "The Masses," and spreading Bolshevik socialism.

And what have these men and their colleagues in Russia accomplished up to date?

- They have overthrown the orderly Constitutional Government that succeeded the Russian monarchy, and inaugurated Anarchy and Chaos in its place.
- 2. They have presented Riga, and the Czar's winnings in Galicia, to their greatest enemies,— Germany and Austria.
- 3. They have wiped out, by spiritual poison, the whole Russian army.
- 4. They have released at least 1,500,000 trained fighting men for Germany to hurl upon Italy, France, Rumania, Mesopotamia and Palestine.
- 5. They, and they alone, brought about the Italian defeat on the Isonzo, and the retreat back to the Piave.
- 6. They, and they alone, have enabled Germany to seize Odessa, and put the Turks back into Ar-

- menia, where the extermination of all the remaining Armenians now is going on!
- 7. They have forced America to stop helping the Russians to renew their worn-out railroads.
- 8. Their capital, Petrograd, is now a desolate ruin, and soon will be occupied by the Huns.
- Finally, the rotten Bolsheviki have so far thrown themselves into the arms of Germany that within three months the vassalage of Russia, under Germany, will be complete.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Set a beggar on horseback, and he will ride to the devil."

### CHAPTER XI

### Socialism and Ruin

One of the most startling by-products of the European war is the practical demonstration that socialism, in destroying governments, has been the creator of chaos and misery. After the lesson of the Bolsheviki there is no longer the slightest excuse for ignorance, indifference or slothfulness in dealing with that hydraheaded monster in America.

In reality, it is both dangerous and futile to try to draw a line between American socialism and the radical alien brand. In times of conflict, all fine lines of demarcation disappear. In the struggle that we some day must make with alien-born anarchy-socialism in our own country, all the loyal American socialists will quit the company of the Nearings and Shiplacoffs, as very many already have done, and the others will move over into the camps of the enemy.

Let us, then, in self defense, at once drop all attempts at differentiation between the best and the worst in socialism as it now stands. No socialist camp is any longer a fit abiding-place for any level-headed and patriotic American.

#### THE APPEAL TO GREED AND POVERTY

The appeal to cupidity and poverty is the most dangerous weapon that can be aimed at the heart of any nation from within. This was the mark on the dagger with which Lenine and Trotzky struck the heart of Russia. To-day the great Russian giant lies prone on his frozen earth, writhing and twisting in mortal agony. Out of a face of pitiful ignorance and simplicity, the striken Soldier-Workman turns his eyes right and left, for help that will stop his wounds and lift him up before all his life blood ebbs away. And it is Germany that offers first aid,— of the kind that vultures give to lambs.

The Kaiser, and Hindenburg of the Cruel Jaw, stand by, like wolves beside a dying buffalo, smiling sardonically, and making up their minds where to begin their feast. The Ukraine hind quarter, already paralyzed and helpless, even now is ready for fang and claw.

In Petrograd the first act of the ghastly farce is nearing its close. Lenine and Trotzky resemble two East African baboons who have invaded a drawing room, wrecked it and are wondering what to do with its remains. Their raucous barking can be heard afar; but their canine teeth, though sharp enough against their own kind, are harmless against armed enemies.

The poor human cattle who have thrust those devilish fools into positions of temporary power already realize that a great nation cannot be governed, and piloted through grave perils, by one pair of long-eared asses. Lenine and Trotzky know no more about the science of government than a baboon knows about watchmaking; and the price of this carnival of folly, ignorance and greed is the degradation, ruin and starvation of a great nation. The precious "Soldier (!)" and his yoke-fellow the "Workman," now are up to their armpits in the quicksands of socialism; and may

the God of nations have mercy on their sordid souls. On February 18, while reporting a carnival of rioting, wholesale murder, widespread robbing and looting, famine and misery unspeakable, in Petrograd, the New York "Times" Russian correspondent also said this:

"Lenine's land legislation and revolutionary propaganda generally are reducible in effect to this simple advice to the peasants: 'Help yourselves.' The results have been to break up large estates, with the consequent return to more primitive methods of cultivation, struggles between rival villages and between inhabitants of the same village, and wholesale insecurity."

We have seen socialism destroy a government far better than any that it can erect in its stead. We have seen that the people's Majority can at times be wickedly and hopelessly WRONG! We have seen the deadly results of a great appeal to Greed and Ignorance. Karensky and Lenine both assured the "soldiers and workmen" that the property of the rich and well-to-do should be divided with them, without any effort or obligation on their part save to reach and take. We have seen the fighting men of a half-victorious nation throw down their arms, give back all conquered territory, and become craven.

That Russian bait is to-day almost as dangerous in America as it ever was in Russia.

After Russia has been dragged through the mire quite long enough, we will see the intelligent element called upon to rescue the nation, and we will see the renaissance, but when will we see a form of government that can hold Russia together?

#### THE SOCIALISTIC APPEAL IN AMERICA

Americans who never have attended any socialistic meetings, and never have read any pamphlets like Scott Nearing's "Great Madness," have not the faintest conception of what the socialists propose to do by and unto the United States. I advise every one who reads this book to write to the Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th Street, New York, buy a copy of that pamphlet, and read it carefully.

Scott Nearing is the socialist professor who very wisely and justly was dropped from the University of Pennsylvania, and later from another position at Toledo, for his dangerous views and teachings. He has written thirteen books on socialism and allied subjects, and he is the president of the People's Council (of alien socialists), with national head-quarters at 138 West 13th Street, New Work. He is the leader and the most voluble spokesman of the American Bolsheviki. And what is the trend of his last preachment?

## THE "PLUTOCRATS" GUILTY OF EVERYTHING

To begin with, a "plutocrat" (in the language of anarchy) is a person who is rich or nearly so, and is possessed of divisible property. To men like Nearing, Lenine and Trotzky, the "plutocrat" is the living incarnation of all iniquity. Throughout 44 pages of his "Great Madness," Nearing blames the "plutocrats" for preaching patriotism, for founding the Navy League to build up the U. S. Navy, for denouncing the sinking of the Lusitania, for sending the Lusitania

to sea, for advocating preparedness, and finally for deliberately bringing on the war in order that they might profit from it in all sorts of ways.

To Nearing and his kind, no such thing as unselfish patriotism in a "rich" man or woman is possible. He says that they use the American flag as a "camouflage" for their profiteering, and wax fat on the woes of our nation.

I will not stop to quote page and verse from Nearing's Madness; for life is short.

But in one respect, A. W. Ricker, in "Rip-Saw Series No. 7," goes a step beyond Nearing. In "Free Love and Socialism" he says that "capitalism is destroying the home" and "breaking down the marriage relation"; and that "Under socialism there will be no red light districts. The environment of prostitution will be removed from man's pathway." . . . "The professional abortionist will disappear with capitalism."

Just for a moment let us again hold a candle to Scott Nearing's "Great Madness,"—a well-named pamphlet!

Nearing lauds Tavenner, who viciously attacked the Navy League; he lauds La Follette, of whom nothing descriptive need be said; and he praises many men for their slacking and disloyal attitudes.

But does he say one word against Germany!

Not one! He says (page 39): "There is some excuse for Germany."

Throughout his twelve topics, not once does he find any fault with the Kaiser, or Hindenburg; not once does he express regret over any disaster to America or her allies; not once does he condemn submarine murders or air raids on London; or the rape of Belgium and France; or the murder of civilians, or the slaughter of unarmed British and French prisoners. Not once does Nearing even criticize any of the Hun ruthlessness that the flower of young American manhood has gone forth to fight to the death, in order that the Hun grip on the throat of the world may be loosed.

On page 24 Nearing says, in effect, that America's entry into the war was not due to a high sense of national honor, not due to insults and injuries by Germany, not due to patriotism and a high desire to protect the most sacred rights of mankind against the meanest people ever developed, but really to enrich the "plutocrats"! Hear him:

"The business interests had played for a great stake. They had played against the well-being of the American democracy. The prize they sought was a billion dollars a year in profits. Wrapped in the folds of the flag and uttering resounding declarations of patriotism, on April sixth the business interests won a victory of terrible import to the American democracy."

Now, candidly, I ask all real Americans: If our laws were what they should be, what would be done with the man who writes and publishes such gross and disloyal insults as the above in this country at this time?

But we Americans are so drowsy that even in New York City it has been proven impossible to silence Nearing!

No: Mr. Nearing, and his Hillquits, Shiplacoffs, Max Eastmans, Rickers, Epsteins, Goldmans and Bill Haywoods are occupying their massive brains with quite other things than winning this war. What are they? I will tell you.

They do not propose ever to fight for the flag.

They bitterly oppose universal military service.

They oppose armaments for the defense of the nation.

They oppose Liberty loans.

They regard every rich or well-to-do person as an enemy.

They demand full license in speech and publication. They propose to capture all municipal, county, state and national governments.

Nearing boldly says: "Capture the schools!"

They propose to "Take all profit out of industry." (Nearing.)

They (Ricker, p. 17) propose to "take over into public or collective ownership the means of production and distribution, and then operate them for the benefit and support of all the people."

Lenine already HAS "taken over" the banks and the strong boxes of Russia, all that are within his reach!

In fact, what the socialists propose is the acquisition of ALL POWER, and a clean sweep of ALL PROPERTY THAT IS WORTH TAKING.

#### SOCIALISM THE GREAT CURE-ALL

Mr. A. W. Ricker has done us a good turn in his "Free Love and Socialism." In his breezy and direct western way, he puts the Great Lure of Socialism into a very few words. Hear ye him:

"My study of socialism taught me that it is a sov-

ereign remedy for the ills and troubles of humanity. There is not an economic ill that Socialism will not remedy. There is not a social evil that Socialism will not cure." (Page 24.)

"No man or woman, after Socialism is established, will ever have to worry where the next meal is coming from, or whether the rent is paid. The home will belong to the family and may not be taken from them. The food supply will never fail, even though a drought might visit the country. . . . We will always produce a sufficient food supply for all the people, because all the people will manage democratically the means of production and distribution.

"The home will be the dwelling-place where the woman will be the absolute equal of man. He cannot tyrannize over her, because she will not be dependent upon him, as she is now."

Now, as bait for the needy and the ignorant of earth, can human ingenuity improve upon this? Back up this with the prospect of no military service, and what more can the profligate, the slothful and the unfortunate poor possibly desire?

With such a program as this, printed and talked and preached, as Nearing says, "everywhere and upon every possible occasion, in home, shop, street car and meeting hall," by an army of nimble-witted and iron-jawed men and women, is it any wonder that the virus of socialism is spreading rapidly? Can it do anything else than make great progress among the millions of ignorant and discontented workingmen of the United States? Think especially of those who do not even know the English language, but can vote just as often as you or I!

Great danger to America lies in the Lure of Socialism to the ignorant and the avaricious poor. The honest-hearted, level-headed and patriotic American workman, or clerk, or teacher, is safe enough; but there are millions of the other kind.

#### A FOOL'S PARADISE OF FREE SPEECH

To-day the people of the United States are bowing down in besotted worship to the ridiculous fetich idol called Free Speech. Under the baneful influence of that false god, that long ago should have been kicked off its pedestal, we stand silent, helpless and with bated breath, while the scoundrels and blackguards of all nations flaunt their rotten sophistries in the faces of the public. They are tireless in print, and in the making of speeches on our busiest streets, they talk 365 days of each year.

If a humble push-cart fruit vendor pauses by the sacred curb-stone of Wall Street for longer than 75 seconds, a policeman rushes forward to avenge the outrage and drive him on. At the same time and place, any alien scoundrel from the slums of Petrograd or the ghetto of Riga can for the asking procure from the police a legal permit for the exclusive, protected use of a street corner, whichever one he may name, whereon he may stand on a box from morning till night, collect a crowd that blocks both the sidewalk and the roadway, even on Wall Street, or Broad Street, or on any one of 500 other streets, and blackguard our country and our government until he is tired. Thus is the privilege of free speech prostituted and degraded in the greatest center of intelligence, wealth and influence in the western hemisphere.

Minneapolis, Fargo and Chicago barred out, in 1917, the national convention of the odious Peace Council of slackers and pacifists; and thereby they won the admiration and thanks of all America. The men who did the barring were Men of Sand, and unafraid of the possible consequences to themselves.

Nothing happened. They simply put it over, in the name of public decency.

But is Greater New York equally able to stop a convention of traitors and slackers? Let us see.

At eight o'clock on Feb. 9, 1918, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the American Defense Society, Mr. Richard M. Hurd, was notified that a national convention of socialists and pacifists, headed by Scott Nearing, was scheduled for Feb. 16 and 17, to be held in three halls in New York City. The call was issued by the "Labor, Socialist and Radical Movements," and among the speakers were to be Nearing, Hillquit, Lochner, Amos Pinchot, and Shiplacoff. It was practically the same crowd that eight months previously had been barred out of those three western cities.

An emergency meeting of the Executive Committee of the A. D. S. was called for two o'clock, and at that hour every member of the Committee was present. Within ten minutes it was decided that the authorities should be invoked to prevent the holding of the meetings of the proposed convention. A formal letter of protest to the Mayor of New York City was drafted and adopted.

1.— MAYOR HYLAN was called upon by a subcommittee. He received the matter in a friendly and sympathetic spirit; and for advice upon it he very properly referred it to the Mayor's Council of National Defense.

- 2.— THE MAYOR'S COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE spent two hours in conference with our Executive Committee, but did not feel that the meetings could be prevented.
  - 3.— THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK was appealed to, by letter and telegraph; but he was on the very point of starting for the far West, and had no time to enter into the matter, one way or another.
  - 4.—THE NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL of Washington was appealed to, and urged to act. Nothing practical resulted therefrom.

Finally,

5.—THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES was called upon to act. Nothing was done by him.

For the admonition of Americans, I quote here from the letter of Mr. Charles Stewart Davison, member of the Executive Committee of the American Defense Society, to the Director of the Mayor's Council of National Defense, while our efforts with the municipal authorities were in progress:

You will, I feel sure, agree with me that if it be decided by the Mayor's Council of Defense that it itself is powerless to prevent the holding of seditious meetings in New York City, it should either formally recommend action to the Mayor, or else call the matter immediately to the attention of the State authorities for action by them.

The matter was referred to the Council by the Mayor, and the Committee which called upon it has, at the two conferences which were held, gone into the full detail. In view of the existing state of war, and the serious effect upon the country of the holding in this City of such meetings (which are effectively prevented in other States), it would seem that a duty is imposed upon the Council. In connection with the underlying principles concerned, I refer you to the copy of the opinion by Judge Dickinson of the United States District Court which I left with you, and to the enclosed pamphlet on the subject.

I also call to your recollection the fact that whenever there is laxity in the prevention of the beginnings of disloyalty,

disorder and serious breaches of the peace arise. . .

You will note that the acceptance of responsible office in time of war carries with it correspondingly responsible duties; and while the burden of decision and of action may be great, it is one which I am sure would not be sought to be avoided by yourself, or by any loyal citizen whose duty called upon him for action for the protection of the land.

We failed, utterly.

The meetings were held as advertised; and they were even more defiant, obstructive, hostile and insulting to our Allies than we had expected they would be. They attracted representatives of the most dangerous elements of alien-socialism, including I. W. W. miscreants. It was the largest and most vociferous gathering of seditionists that has been held in America thus far.

On Sunday afternoon, at the Central Opera House, 205 East 67th Street, there were present about 2,500 revolutionary Socialists. It was the closing meeting of the "National Labor and Peace Conference."

Dr. Judah L. Magnes cried, "Only through peace can your revolution succeed! . . . It is not the middle aged that you need to make your revolution. It is strong youth!" When the speaker announced that the only possible basis for peace was "the status quo ante,"—the peace that Germany wants,—that crowd leaped to its feet and roared its approval. He definitely announced as a fact that in a short time President Wilson will call for a Bolshevik peace, on a basis of no annexations and no indemnities. And the

United States Attorney General, and the Department of Justice, let him get away with that lying and disloyal statement!!

Scott Nearing and L. P. Lochner favored a policy of unrestricted immigration to the United States of Chinese and Japanese; which we commend to the American Federation of Labor for its attention. Delegate Maurer, speaking for Pennsylvania labor, objected; and the resolution was not adopted.

Scott Nearing made exactly the kind of a speech that we expected of him, only worse; and at last he has been haled before a grand jury, and indicted!

#### THE REMEDY FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA

Whenever a political party or a cult proposes to the American people a line of policy that boldly and brazenly attacks the very foundations of our republic, that cult ceases to be an academic question and becomes a menace. Already the socialists freely and openly are talking and declaiming about a "revolution" in the United States, and predicating much upon its success.

All the red-blooded men of America (so far as heard from) now hold strongly that for disloyalty there should be no such thing as "free speech," or free assemblage. In time of war, the man who for technical or timid reasons fears to suppress disloyal meetings and publications easily becomes himself a source of danger, because of his weakness.

Can our people as a mass EVER be made to see the

dangers of socialism, before the red flag of socialism and anarchy appears in all our streets, and the firing begins?

FOR GOD'S SAKE, AMERICANS, AWAKE.

#### CHAPTER XII

## Cobras Under the Hearthstone, and Class Hatred

The cobra is the most vicious, venomous and deadly of all foreign snakes. The only cobras in America are those that have come to us from abroad.

The cobra is the only reptile that loves to live in the thatched roofs and under hearthstones of the habitations of man. In wet weather, when they are driven out of the fields of India by discomfort and privation, they seek the shelter of men's houses; and they do not hesitate to bite, through sheer viciousness, the people whose homes shelter them. In India, in the early days, a live cobra sometimes fell from a thatched roof, or a beam, upon the family table.

The cobra is the most dreaded of all the old-world snakes, because it is the only species that actually pursues inoffensive people, and goes out of its way to bite them. It strikes without warning, and usually in the dark, so that it can make a safe get-away. Its bite is so deadly that only the most prompt treatment, with a serum made from its own poison, can avert the death of the victim.

In comparison with the alien cobra the American rattlesnake is a gentleman. He never pursues you, nor seeks you out in order to bite you; and he always rattles a fair warning before he strikes. Thousands of lives have been saved by his warning rattle, "Don't tread on me!"

The only proper and adequate treatment for the cobra of Class Hatred is instant extermination.

I am sorry that it is true, but at this time America is thickly infested with cobras in human form that to our people are a thousand times more dangerous to peaceful people than the serpents of India are to the people of Hindustan. There are several species, and they bear various markings; but all of them are alike venomous. It is difficult to decide which is most deadly per capita.—the I. W. W. species, the socialist-anarchist, the Non-Partisan League, the German spy species, or the Sinn Feiner. Of all these species, however, the individuals that deserve the shortest shrift are those bearing American names, and that have been bred on our own soil. But, even toward those reptiles that were hatched in the European hotbeds of class hatred and anarchy, we have been a thousand times too indifferent, too tolerent, too sleepy, and too slow with the firmly restraining hand. I think it will take a lot of blood-letting to awaken this nation of sodden sleepers to the extent of this danger.

The I. W. W. species is rendering our country one form of good service, and one only. It is slowly awakening a few of the sleepy people of the Great West (i.e., west of Pittsburgh) to the cobra danger. With this "the East" is delighted. Having cobras of all the other species here in our midst, and realizing their dangerous character as a very few of us do, we are pleased that the West is getting a series of jolts that will arouse it to a sense of the eternal misfitness of drowsiness and slumber in the presence of deadly enemies.

The I. W. W. organization now contains about 75,000



THE COBRAS UNDER THE HEARTHSTONE

Drawn by W. A. Ireland, of the Columbus Dispatch, and
contributed to this volume.

"The thousands of professional or volunteer German agents in our midst have millions of aiders and abettors. They include many of the foreign anarchists, pacifists, misguided labor leaders, anti-conscriptionists and I. W. W. These are the open German propagandists who labor in one way or another to give aid and comfort to the enemy.

way or another to give aid and comfort to the enemy.

"It is estimated by government officials engaged in running down German plots and propaganda that not less than 200,000 men and women are plying their perfidious practices. One official puts the number as high as 250,000. These thousands constitute the subtle enemy within our gates. They are the purveyors of the poison of unrest, suspicion and misinformation."

Isaac F. Marcosson in the "Saturday Evening Post,"

March 23, 1918.

members, every one of whom should either be shipped out of this country, or kept under constant police surveillance. Every State now needs a strong force of mounted police, like those of Pennsylvania and New York! While it may, and probably does, contain a few men who intend to be decent citizens, but who have been misled into bad associations, the majority consists of lazy rough-necks of criminal instincts, whose motto is "I Won't Work," and who love to smash and destroy things without at all knowing why!

They lack the lofty and consistently-crazy purpose of the rabid anarchist and socialist,—to get something for nothing,—and their three ruling passions are hatred of "the rich," a desire to live without working and a desire to destroy property. Along with those driving impulses they harness up rank disloyalty to the government; and there you have the team that is hitched to the I. W. W. band-wagon.

The I. W. W. gang can no longer be permitted to go on literally by default on the part of law abiding people. It now deserves serious and constant attention, and the strong grip. "Bill" Haywood, its one-eyed leader, is a thoroughly dangerous man. In the New York "Tribune" of December 30, 1917, he is described as the "American Bolshevik who by a reign of terror would build a utopia here for the masses only; the would-be Robespierre of U. S. revolt who seized war as an opportunity to stab at the nation's industrial vitals. Smiling, and soft-spoken and he seeks to give the lowest classes power and pillage."

The foundation principle of the I. W. W. gang is bitter class hatred of "capitalistic" people, and all other men and women who own homes and property,

and are not like themselves wanderers in search of easy money. These views are fully set forth in a blasphemous parody on the well-known hymn, "Onward, Christian Soldiers," written for the I. W. W. Song Book by John F. Kendrick, on whom may seven plagues alight. I offer, with apologies to the reader, the second and last verses:

Onward, Christian soldiers, rip and tear and smite!
Let the gentle Jesus bless your dynamite.
Splinter skulls with shrapnel, fertilize the sod;
Folks who do not speak your tongue deserve the curse of God.
Smash the door of every home, pretty maidens seize;
Use your might and sacred right to treat them as you please!

Onward, Christian soldiers! Blighting all you meet, Trampling human freedom under pious feet. Praise the Lord whose dollar sign dupes his favored race! Make the foreign trash respect your bullion brand of grace. Trust in mock salvation, serve as pirates' tools; History will say of you: "That pack of G—— d—— fools!"

The true character of every I. W. W. member also can be judged by the deliberate act of the last convention of that malodorous order. A resolution then adopted and promulgated reads as follows; and it should be published at least once, conspicuously, in every newspaper of the United States, Canada and Latin America:

# THE I. W. W. PLATFORM OF DISLOYALTY AND POLITICAL SABOTAGE

"We openly declare ourselves determined opponents of all nationalistic sectionalism or patriotism, and the militarism preached and supported by our one enemy, the capitalist class. We condemn all wars, and for the prevention of such, we proclaim the antimilitarist propaganda in time of peace, thus promoting class solidarity among the workers of the entire world, and in time of war, the general strike in all industries."

It is with the mad-dogs that produced the above that the few decent pacifists of our land now find themselves associated, and united by the pacifist bond of brotherhood. I wonder how they like their I. W. W. company! We know that the American Federation of Labor will not tolerate the I. W. W. cobras; but who can say as much of the new Non-Partisan League, and prove it? I can not! The two organizations seem to be running together.

On June 2, 1917, "Solidarity," the official organ of the I. W. W., said:

"Are you ready to take your stand, and prove to the world that you are made of the stuff good rebels are made of?" And on July 7 it said: "Capitalism by drenching the earth with blood has proved itself to be a traitor to the entire human race. Treason of this sort is incomparably criminal. If we remember correctly the penalty for treason these days is death. Here's hoping."

In other words, "Solidarity" says that in taking up arms in defense of the plain, every-day rights and lives of the American people our "capitalistic" president and cabinet and Congress are "traitors," deserving "the death penalty for treason." No other conclusion is possible from the language quoted.

Although the I. W. W. leaders thus openly preach rebellion, when it comes to a show-down they have little stomach for it. Out in the open, they are a cowardly lot. At Bisbee, Arizona, in July, 1917, when 1,186 of them were routed out one by one, and rounded up like so many sheep, they were as nerveless as a flock of buzzards. Then, if ever, they might reasonably have been expected to put up some kind of a fight, at least to the extent of a few broken heads.

But no! In the presence of the Bad Men of Bisbee, their desire to "rebel" and to "rip and tear and smite," was reduced to its lowest common denominator. They were herded into cattle cars, hauled out of town and dumped in the desert, half way between two stations,—because the people of Douglas cruelly but firmly refused to welcome the bunch to their Beautiful City.

This "unlawful" treatment of representatives of the most defiant, disloyal and criminal organization in America was much taken to heart by the disloyal press.

That was a stroke in broad daylight; and as such it was most unfair. The I. W. W. hates daylight. Its long suit is sabotage, and striking and burning in the dark. But at Butte, Montana, a gentleman named Little found that striking in the dark is a game at which two can play.

For a brief period Mr. Frank Little was a bold, bumptious I. W. W. leader. There had been a lot of copper mine troubles, in Butte, and in Arizona, all on account of I. W. W. activities. In an outburst of patriotism Mr. Little had written to the Governor of Arizona as follows:

"I don't give a damn what your country is fighting for!" And later on he said: "A city ordinance is simply a piece of paper that can be torn up. The

same can be said of the Constitution of the United States. If the mines are taken under Federal control, we will make it so hot for the government that it will not be able to send any troops to France."

One night a few Butte Men of Sand decided that at least one of the I. W. W. leaders should literally reach the end of his rope. Taking the rope with them, six of them called at Leader Little's hotel, took him from his bed, and in the most quiet and orderly way imaginable hanged him to a railroad bridge in the suburbs of Butte until he was dead.

We are making history quite rapidly, these days. On November 9 the New York "Tribune" contained these headlines:

### I. W. W. Balk Plans for Huge Air Fleet.

# Sabotage in the Logging Camps Cuts Output of Spruce.

# America's Foes in Forest Dealing Harder Blows than Germany.

The story that follows tells how the I. W. W. cobras of the State of Washington, who lost their strike last year, at Everett, now are concentrating sabotage without limit on the spruce timber industry. The spruce is wanted for United States army aeroplanes; and it is wanted in a hurry.

"Mill owners say that such acts as placing emery dust in machinery bearings, driving railway spikes into logs waiting to be sawed, opening taps to let the water out of logging engine boilers while the fires are banked and cutting power transmission belts are of almost daily occurrence. The sabotage of 'misunderstanding' is also freely resorted to." The last refers to the cutting of logs into wrong lengths in order to render them useless.

"The I. W. W.," says the "Tribune," resort to instruction in sabotage by indirect suggestion, by circulating the following card in lumber mills and logging camps:

"'Against the Law:— Don't drive copper tacks into fruit trees, as it kills the trees. Don't drive a spike in a log, as it is not good for the log, and is liable to make trouble for the saw that hits it. Don't leave a dry log buried in combustible material near the railroad track, as a locomotive might come along and set fire to it, and you might be 100 miles away."

"A government official said to-day that it was no exaggeration to say that at present the I. W. W. are hitting the United States far harder than Germany is!"

All these acts, and all such as these, at the hands of the I. W. W. cobras mean the killing of thousands more of our American boys on the battlefields of northern France, because of the extra months to which final victory will be deferred by those treasonable acts!

Now, are the American people going to endure the I. W. W. cobras any longer?

It is time to root them out!

One answer to the I. W. W.'s of the lumber camps of Washington was delivered at Tulsa, Oklahoma, on November 9, 1917. Here are to-day's headlines:

17 I. W. W. Men, Lashed, Tarred and Feathered.

Masked Knights of Liberty at Tulsa Avenge Bomb Outrage.

Agitators are Driven into the Osage Hills.

The whole task was very thoroughly performed, in a most orderly manner, and the Knights were so strong and so well armed that the Tulsa police were completely overwhelmed. The provoking cause of this episode was the stealing of 60 quarts of nitro-glycerine from the Kansas Torpedo Company, and the wrecking, with a nitro-glycerine bomb, of the home of J. Edgar Pew, Vice-President of the Carter Oil Company. It is to be noted that on November 15, at Cooper Union, N. Y., Mr. Elmer Rosenberg, a New York Socialist Assemblyman, spoke most feelingly of the tarred-and-feathered and hanged gentlemen as "socialists"!

I take this opportunity to say, most seriously, to the I. W. W.: Beware!

You are 75,000; but the decent American people are 75,000,000. If violence is to be the order of the day, you will go down and out. The tail will not wag the dog.

Here in the East we have a million cobras with pro-German markings, sharp-fanged, full of venom and ready to strike in the dark. Many of them already have struck! At the end of this chapter I will give a list of their crimes from Jan. 18, 1915, to the outbreak of the war with Germany on April 6, 1917.

We have had bombings and burnings, with murder, until such things have become an old and familiar story. Many of our factory owners and officers, and our dock owners and guards, seem to have no more sense than so many chipmunks. Some of them are the easiest of easy marks. There is a fearful lack of ability to weed out disloyal and dangerous workmen, and keep out spies. There is a fearful lack of "sav-

vey" in protecting war factories and properties. Hence do we see the burnings of million-dollar factories and docks at the rate of about two per month, each one by fires set in three or four places at once.

If a decent business man seeks to enter a certain arms factory that I know, he must run the gauntlet of a perfectly absurd series of guards, and submit to restrictions that are silly, in order to see one officer and transact the most commonplace business. But inside the factories, the effort to weed out suspicious workmen is sometimes hideously weak and inefficient! The craze for German "foremen" is positively uncanny, and the desire for "more men" to turn out "more munitions" has caused numerous careless superintendents to employ numberless traitors who have caused many big explosions, and the loss of numerous men and vast quantities of munitions.

And yet, even up to this date, so far as the public is aware, not one bomber or incendiary has been hanged; and there is talk that the alien who was caught carrying a deadly bomb into a vessel last week will get off with a sentence of imprisonment instead of a firing squad.

In view of the number of pro-German and full-German traitors stalking abroad here in the East, and the wealth of their opportunities for mischief, I marvel at their moderation! We have not even yet declared war on two of the allies of our most bitter enemy. In America the brutal Bulgar is yet absolutely free to come and go, to fetch and carry, maintain embassies and consuls, and transmit spy news to an extent practically unlimited.

Will Washington EVER wake up?

The Peace Cobras.— Of all the cobras under our national hearthstones, the most deadly to the world at large are those who are seeking to drive a wedge between the United States and our gallant Allies, England, France, Belgium and Italy, by insisting upon German peace terms. The propagandists of that well defined movement are the alien socialists, anarchists and pro-Germans wherever found. The alien anarchists have been spoken of in another chapter.

By way of introduction to an editorial from the N. Y. "American" we repeat the well-known fact that a peace with Germany on a basis of "no annexations and no indemnities" assuredly would mean the following:

- I. The return to Germany of all her lost colonies in Africa and the Orient.
- 2. Approval by the Allies of the murder, loot and ruin of all Belgium, and the destruction of all Belgian industries.
- 3. The approval of murder, loot and ruin of northern France.
- 4. The return of Armenia to the beastly Turk (on whom may 1,000 curses rest forever), and
  - 5. At least half a victory for Germany!

All this is exactly what our Allies are fighting to prevent.

In a huge, full-page editorial on September 23, 1917, which is put forth as truthfully representing the attitude of President Wilson and "the Government," the New York "American" said:

"The point that England, France, Italy and Russia are not our allies is well taken. . . . We have no treaty

of alliance with the allied Governments; we are not fighting with the majority of the nations with whom they are fighting, and it is a misuse of terms and a misstatement of fact to say that England, France, Russia and Italy are OUR ALLIES. We have reason to know that the President takes this view."

After a lot of unimportant preamble regarding the causes for which Germany started the war, the editorial goes on to say that "when Germany shows a clear willingness to abandon these iniquitous designs, to assume her former position as an equal among equals, and to provide sufficient guarantees against any future attack upon the freedom of the world, then the United States will consider that the defeat of Germany's war lords has been accomplished, to procure which defeat America drew her sword; and that having achieved its purpose, the United States will willingly negotiate peace, and will resume friendly relations with Germany, and exert its own power to prevent the spoliation of Germany by other nations."

In effect, it says that our allies are not our allies at all, that Germany's peace terms must if necessary be FORCED upon England, France and Italy, and that looted Belgium and France have no redress. Is "The American" desirous that Germany shall regain all her colonies, and pay absolutely nothing for the carnage that her greed has caused?

In my opinion, any American who can entertain in his secret thoughts, or utter in print, such a declaration as that quoted above is at heart an ally of the maddogs of Germany, an enemy to his country and the foe of human liberty. We also hold that every such enemy at home is dangerous according to the measure of his influence; and every enemy at home is more dangerous to us than ten enemies on the firing line.

To every American who reads these lines, I repeat my estimate that every man who now believes or who says that he would make peace with Germany on a basis of "no annexations and no punitive indemnities" is an enemy to the United States, to our allies and to the whole cause of human liberty for which so much gallant blood now is being spilled.

Whoever accepts and advocates the peace terms of Germany thereby stabs in the back an American soldier, and sows death along the firing line. Our brave boys can fight Huns in front, but they cannot fight traitors at home, who would hamper them, and rob them of the victory that is so necessary to the peace of the world.

To fight the cobras under the hearthstone is our job!

Perhaps the most grotesque of the many enemies of America to-day are the so-called Sinn Feiners. They are professionally opposed to every government they see or hear. Last night they publicly howled in derision at an appeal for the conservation of food. And we are feeding that absurd and disgraceful mob, on food that should be saved for the allies. The business of the Sinn Feiners is to hate England, talk loud, and collect money from Irish servant-girls for "the cause."

If Ireland should attain peace, the conventional Irish "agitator" would be out of a job; and then he and the Sinn Feiner would meet a horrible fate. They would have to work for a living!

To-day the Sinn Feiners are the worst enemies of Irish freedom and nationalization. As disloyal to America, they do not amount to shucks, for here they have no influence, they never had any, and they never will have any, save with servant girls. All the Irish in America who amount to anything are bitterly opposed to their existence, here or elsewhere. Nevertheless, even though the blatherskites are sterile, they absolutely should not be permitted to get up in public and blackguard our ally and our best friend, England!

Cobras that Already Have Struck.— Long before we took formal notice of the fact that Germany was making war upon the United States, America was infested by a mighty swarm of German and renegade-American spies of the most dangerous kind. They were financed by millions of dollars furnished by the German government, and their efforts were directed and paid for by that slimy reptile Bernstorff, whose embassy at Washington was enjoying the protection and hospitality of our government, even while his army of spies was at work.

By these reptiles, only half concealed under our hearthstone, two kinds of endeavor were promoted. One was propaganda and press publicity, specially designed to influence American opinion against Belgium, Great Britain and France, and to create sympathy for Germany.

In spite of the millions expended, that entire campaign was practically a total failure. Outside of the very, very few newspapers actually purchased and owned outright by German money, the German propaganda failed even to make the beginning of an impression on the editors, newspapers and magazines of America. And right here I record the fact that the printing presses of America are the first, last and strongest defense of this nation against socialism, "revolution" and anarchy. Without the clean-strain Americanism that they stand for, through thick and through thin, this country would not be fit for a decent white man to live in. Thank God for the American editor and the American newspaper!

The other line of endeavor on the part of Germany's reptiles consisted in a vast and systematic campaign of violence and destruction. For the purpose of crippling the manufacturing industries of the United States, diminishing materials, halting productivity and injuring the Entente Allies, the Germans and their renegade-American helpers began as early as January 15, 1915, to blow up and burn factories and ships and docks, poison horses, and place time bombs on ships to blow them up or burn them at sea.

Owing to the perfectly amazing sleepiness and the sloth-like stupidity of manufacturers, superintendents, watchmen, captains, seamen, and everybody in the least concerned, Germans went everywhere, saw and knew everything, communicated freely, and made bombs and set them with riotous freedom and abandon. How they must have laughed in those days at our slothfulness, our asinine stupidity, and our inability to wake up. Apparently very few of the German efforts failed!

And even to-day they are succeeding gloriously. They are going right on; but of course we have aroused a little bit. While their output is somewhat less than it was, they are yet able to pull off million dollar fires on docks and in machine shops, right under the noses

of the Government's guardians! Few factory owners have sense enough (1) to weed out the Germans, or (2) to put on an adequate number of guards who are loyal.

What Fools these mortals be!

Mr. John R. Rathom, Editor of the Providence "Journal," has rendered another valuable public service, in addition to the many others previously rendered by his wonderful secret service work, in bringing together in compact form a chronological list of the violent deeds in the United States perpetrated by the German cobras. The Providence "Journal" has published it, in a neat pamphlet bearing a beautiful flag and the modest title, "A Few Lines of Recent American History." Send ten cents, and if the supply is not exhausted you can get it.

Of this valuable document Mr. William Beebe, of the American Flying Corps, has made for me an admirable condensed list, and Lest We Forget, we publish it here:

# German Crimes in America While We Were at Peace with Germany

#### Factories Burned in U. S. from January 18, 1915, to our Declaration of War

1915 Jan. 18. Roebling Chain Co. Plant, N. J., bombed and

Feb. 13. DuPont Powder Co., N. J., bombed; 1 man hurt.
Mar. 6. DuPont Powder Co., N. J., bombed; 5 men killed.
Apr. 1. Equitable Powder Co., Ill., fired; loss, 5 men killed.
Apr. 30. Carney's Point DuPont Co.

May 12. Anderson's Guncotton store house; 3 men killed.

May 16.

Carney's Point DuPont Co.
Wayne DuPont Mill, N. J., blown up.
United Safety Mill, Ky., destroyed; 3 men killed.
Carney's Point DuPont Co., blown up; 1 man killed.
Ætna Mill, Penn., blown up; 5 men killed. June 26. July 13.

July 13.

- Aug. 29. Wilmington DuPont Plant, Del., blown up; 2 men killed.
- Aug. 20.

Aug. 29.

- Shrapnel Plant of E. J. Codd Co., Ind., fired. American Glazing Co., blown up. Shell plant of Malleable Iron Works, Ill., burned. Aug. 31. Driggs Seabury Ordnance Plant, bomb found; loss, Sept. 4. none
- Haskell DuPont Plant, N. J., blown up; loss, 4 men Sept. 29. killed.
- Oct. 1. Pompton DuPont Plant, N. J., blown up; I man killed.
- Ætna Powder Plant, Penn., 285,000 lbs. of explosives Oct. 6.
- blown up; loss, 4 killed, 7 hurt. Pompton DuPont Plant, N. J.; loss, 7 men burned. Warehouses of Russian munitions, Wash., burned; Oct. 12. Oct. 28. loss, \$500,000.
- Nov. 4. East Braintree Bleacheries, making guncotton, burned; loss, \$70,000.
- 800 big guns burned in Bethlehem Steel Shop; loss, Nov. 9. \$2,000,000.
- Baldwin Locomotive Works, making rifles, burned; Nov. 9. loss, \$40,000.
- Roebling Steel Rope Co., N. J., making wire; loss, Nov. 10. \$1,000,000.
- Nov. 10. American Synthetic Color Co., making German process dyes, burned; loss, \$30,000.
- Nov. 15. Frary Spool Co., Mass., making munitions, completely burned.
- Providence Warehouse, room with cotton, burned. Equitable Powder Co., Ill., wheel house blown up. Nov. 16.
- Nov. 27. Toledo Machine Co., Ohio, munition machinery Nov. 24. burned.
- Wilmington DuPont Powder Co., Del., burned; Dec. 1.
- loss, 31 men killed. Hopewell, Va. This whole powder town wiped out Dec. 10. by fire; loss, \$3,000,000.

Dec. 10. Allies' cotton burned in New York.

Bethlehem Steel Works, explosion; loss, I man Dec. 10. killed, 15 men hurt.

1916

- New England Manufacturing Plant, Mass., ex-Jan. I. plosion.
- Unexploded bomb at Mass. State Capitol; loss, none. Jan. Storye DuPont Plant, Ill., blown up; several injured. Jan. 6.
- Carney's Point DuPont Plant, blown up; loss, 9 men Jan. Q.
- Wilmington DuPont Plant, blown up. Jan. II. Jan. 12. American Powder Mills, blown up.
- Jan. 12. Newhall DuPont Plant, Me., blown up.

- Gibbstown\_DuPont\_Plant, N. J., blown up. Jan. 13.
- Pompton DuPont Plant, N. J., blown up; 1 man Jan. 13. killed.
- Jan. 14.
- Ætna Explosive Works, Penn., fired. Carney's Point DuPont Plant, blown up. Jan. 24. Carney's Point DuPont Plant, blown up. Jan. 27.
- Feb. 9. Midvale Chemical Plant, N. J., fired.
- Feb. 9. Ortmayer & Sons, Chicago, saddlers, fired; loss,
- \$200,000. Feb. 10. Castner Electrolytic Alkali Co., N. J., blown up.
- Feb. 10. Bethlehem Steel Co., Del., powder house blown up; loss, 2 men hurt.
- Feb. 13. General Electric Co., munitions plant, burned; loss, \$6,000.
- Feb. 15. Farist Steel Shops, Conn., burned; loss, \$450,000.
- Feb. 17. Semet-Solvay Co., N. Y., blown up; loss, 4 men killed.
- Feb. 18. Middlesex Aniline Chemical Co., N. J., wiped out; loss, \$50,000.
- Hubbard & Co., Penn., burned out. Feb. 27.
- Feb. 27. Woburn Chemical Co., Mass., blown up.
- Mar. I.
- Providence Journal Office, R. I., blown up. Niagara Electric Chemical Co., N. Y., blown up; Mar. 6. loss, I man killed.
- Mar. 8. Niagara Electric Chemical Co., N. Y., ruins again bombed; loss, \$200,000.
- Mar. 28. Oliphant DuPont Powder Co., Penn., blown up;
- loss, 4 men hurt. Silvex Munition Co., burned out; loss, \$70,000. Apr. 4.
- May 7. May 8. Cadillac Chemical Co., Mich., burned out. Atlas Powder Co., N. J., blown up; loss, 6 killed, 15 hurt.
- Gibbstown DuPont Powder Plant, N. J., blown up; May 14. loss, 14 killed, 30 hurt.
- Ætna Powder Co., Penn., blown up; loss, 6 killed, July 1. 6 hurt.
- July 7. Wilmington Powder Plant, DuPont, Del., blown up; loss, 1 killed, 20 hurt.
- July 30. Munitions of Black Tom, blown up; loss, 5 killed, \$25,000,000.
- Ashland DuPont Plant, Wis., blown up; loss, 2 Aug. 20. killed.
- New Brunswick DuPont Plant, N. J., blown up; Aug. 20. 6 hurt.

#### 1917

- Canadian Car and Foundry Co., N. J., blown up; Jan. II. loss, 17 men killed, \$16,000,000.
- Haskell DuPont Plant, N. J., blown up; loss, 2 men Jan. 12. killed, 12 men hurt.

## Ships Destroyed or Attacked

1915	•
Jan. 29.	S.S. Preston; cotton cargo burned; en route to England.
Mar. 21.	Clan MacKeller; cargo fired; docked in Genoa.
Mar. 31.	San Guglielmo; cargo fired; docked in Genoa.
Apr. 22.	
Apr. 29.	
May 1.	Banksdale; sugar; cargo fired; en route for Havre.
June 10.	
	loss.
July 4.	Minnehaha; fired by bombs; en route Liverpool.
July 24.	Cragside; blown up; at pier in New York.
July 30.	Knitsford; fired; in Brooklyn.
Aug. 18.	Three Germans arrested in New York for attempting to burn steamers.
Sept. 13.	
	into Azores.
Sept. 18.	Athinai, with food supplies, burned at sea; from
Mar. o	Brooklyn.
Nov. 2	
Nov. 4	lyn.
Nov. 7	
Nov. 26	Banksdale; horse cargo, fired at sea; en route for
	Bordeaux.
Dec. 4.	
Dec. 19.	
Dec. 27.	Inchmoor; fired; at N. Y.
1916	
Jan. o.	Shinyo Maru; bombs found; off San Francisco; loss,
,	none.
Jan. 9.	U. S. Submarine Base, Conn., fire.
Jan. 21.	Sygna; fired at N. Y.
Feb. 14.	Dalton; fired; at Phila.; loss, \$150,000.
Feb. 15.	3 steamers and 37 lighters burned; at Brooklyn;
Feb. 27.	loss, \$3,000,000. Eurymachos; burned; at N. Y.
Mar. 14.	Herman Winter; fired; at Portland, Me.; loss, (?).
Mai. 14.	men, men, at rornand, me.; 1088, (7).
1917.	
Jan. 4.	Aztec; oil tanker; blown up; at Brooklyn; loss, 12 lives.

Jan. 5. All interned German liners disabled.

#### Attempted or Successful Bribes or Assassinations

1915.

Bomb set by Frank Holt exploded in East Wing. White House reception room.

Frank Holt shot J. P. Morgan at Glen Cove, L. I.;

injury not dangerous.

Female German agent offered Samuel Gompers very large sums to foment strikes; offer re-July 20. fused. Door of M. F. Coombs, a manf. of airplanes, blown

in by bomb; N. Y.

#### Trains Wrecked

Aug. 29. Attempt to wreck train carrying guncotton, Ind.; attempt frustrated.

Aug. 31. Dynamite laden train, Cal.; derailed and blown up; loss, 3 men killed.

Train carrying 7000 lbs. dynamite from DuPont Plant, Cal., wrecked; loss, 3 men killed.

Norfolk & Western R. R., W. V.; carload of powder fired; loss, 30 men hurt. Sept. 1.

Jan. 25.

#### Unclassified Outrages

1915

July 13. Remington Arms Co. strike.

Aug. 4. Attempt to ship arms and reservists to Mexico to aid Huerta. Consul Generals in plot to destroy Canadian R. R. Three Germans tried to blow up Welland Canal. Canadian House of Parliament burned.

Ancona, Arabic and Sussex sunk.

Up to date (Nov. 30, 1917), very, very few bombers and incendiaries have been caught; and so far as we can learn, none have been hanged or shot.

According to the New York "Times" of Nov. 18, commenting on the state of affairs in the Kingsland shell plant blown up in January, 1916, it is a common thing for munition plants to have German foremen, and guards who are notoriously known to be German and fresh from German service!

## Classification of the Cobras in Our House, With Examples

- German terrorists: Once numerous, very active and very successful. See list of their results. Now pretty well weeded out.
- German spies: such as Albert Sander, employed on the "Deutsches Journal" of W. R. Hearst, New York, until arrested, tried and sent to a Federal penitentiary for two years. Also, Hans Stengel, also employed on the "Deutsches Journal"; arrested and interned on Dec. 5, 1917.
- German propagandists: such as Otto Julius Merkel, founder of the precious "German University League," and pro-German writer for the press, until arrested and interned on Dec. 5, 1917. The "Woman's Peace Party" is in this group.
- The I. W. W. gang: practicing terrorism and sabotage very widely throughout the West.
- The Bolsheviki of New York: Typical Russian anarchists and socialists, such as the "People's Council," "Union Against Militarism," Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, Max Eastman, Louis P. Lochner, Scott Nearing, Morris Hillquit and Monkey Wrench Shiplacoff.
- Ordinary traitors: about 1,000,000 naturalized "Americans" of German birth, who are thoroughly in sympathy with "the Kaiser," who have nothing to say against Germany's atrocious practices, and who would gladly help Germany if they could do it and not be found out?

Extraordinary Slackers: about 1,000,000 selfish, ignorant and sometimes sleepy Americans, who have no ideal but "business" and the dollar; who day and night strive to rob The Consumer; who would willingly cut the throat of America if they personally could profit by it; who want peace at the German price, or any other price; who are too cowardly to serve their country at the front and too mean to serve at home; who knock on military service, Liberty bonds, the president, the war, and the loyal newspapers.

The Non-Partisan League will have to be very careful, or it will soon find itself in this crowd!

Already as an organization it appears to be dovetailing with the I. W. W. gang, and hobnobbing with it. "Birds of a feather flock together!"

The German-American Alliance now is on trial before Congress and the Legislature of the State of New York, and while the weight of evidence seems to be against it, we suspend judgment until decisions are reached by the tribunals mentioned.

#### CHAPTER XIII

#### Blind Guides and Others

"If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch."

By February 1, 1915, every intelligent and observing American should have foreseen that the United States was in great danger of becoming involved in the great foreign war. The German menace was a grave menace, and we were already embroiled with Mexico.

In view of those dangers a few persons were endeavoring to arouse the nation to the necessity for quick and thorough "preparedness." Even on Aug. 1, 1914, the U. S. War College was thoroughly awake to the German menace, and communicated a warning and an appeal for preparedness to the War Department.

All the men and women who between Aug. 2, 1914, and April 6, 1917, worked against increased armaments and against universal military training, thereby assumed a terrible responsibility. I am thankful that not one of my friends shared it. As joyously and as free from care as schoolboys organizing a picnic, they flocked together, charged down upon Washington, and blithely assured Congress that for us there were no troubles brewing anywhere, and that more men and munitions were not only unnecessary, but positively wrong! With no more comprehension of the future than the Cree Indians who ate up their seed potatoes and starved afterward, they sent up peace toy balloons,

to amuse the unthinking and cajole the wise. From its very inception they bitterly fought the idea of universal compulsory military service.

There are times when aggressive Folly, organized or unorganized, becomes a crime.

Our one reason for now turning back the pages of history for the last three years is that all men may from them learn the fearful object lesson that in war times the price of human folly and shortsightedness is blood and misery!

Herein, as a sample case, and as one warning object lesson for the future, I will exhibit now the opposition to one preparedness bill. The display of names is perfectly fair and legitimate; because the persons represented thrust themselves into the public eye, and their sentiments and their exact words all were embalmed in a thick volume of 1,178 pages, published by the Government, and now available. Both for the present and the future it is well that all Americans should know how certain people stood toward preparedness, as late as January, 1917, when it was absolutely certain that war between the United States and Germany was inevitable.

The cost of this opposition to the Chamberlain bill for universal military service, in time, money and labor was considerable; and all of it goes to show how persistently and willfully wrong-headed men and women can pursue a bad object.

# Against Preparedness for National Defense.

# Hearings Before the Committee on Military Affairs United States Senate

Sixty-fourth Congress, First Session: Committee on Military Affairs.

The following persons appeared before this committee in January, 1917, in these hearings in opposition to "preparedness" as proposed in Senate Bill S. 1695: "A bill to provide for the military and naval training of the citizen forces of the United States."

Jan. 10	. Mrs. Kent and ladies representing "Women's Peace Party" p. 353
	Miss Ella Flagg Young, Chicago, pp. 353-7
	Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Brook-
	line, Mass.,
	Mrs. Amos Pinchot, New York, pp. 382-4
Ion to	
Jan. 13	Dr. Clyde E. Ehinger, State Nor-
	mal School, West Chester, Pa. pp. 505-13
	Dr. James P. Warbasse, Brook-
	lyn, N. Y.,
	Max Eastman, New York, Editor
	of "The Masses,"* pp. 543-51
~	W. V. Myers, Columbia Uni-
	versity, N. Y.,† pp. 523-25
	Edwin M. Earl, Columbia Uni-
	versity, N. Y.,
	Edward Dunn, Yale University, pp. 528-32
	Edward Dunn, Fale Oniversity, pp. 520-32
* Sup	pressed by the Government in Nov., 1917, for dis-

loyalty.

† Representing "the Collegiate Anti-Militarism League, a

national organization with branches in all the leading colleges."— Max Eastman, "Hearings," p. 523.

_	Brent D. Allison, Harvard Uni-	
	versity,pp.	532-5
V	Hilman Rauschenbusch, Amherst	
	College, Amherst, Mass., pp.	535-9
	J. W. Danahay, Columbia Uni-	
	versity, New York, pp.	539-43
	Edward N. Wright, University of	
	Penna., Moylan, Pa., pp.	551-2
	Nathan P. Arnold, University	
,	of Penna., Philadelphia, pp.	552-3
	R. H. Shelton, Trinity College,	
	N. Y., pp.	553-4
	H. N. Hallett, Cornell University,	
,	Ithaca, N. Y.,	554-5
	Prof. John Dewey, Columbia	-60 ==
	University, N. Y., pp.	500-71
	Dr. John L. Elliott, 426 West 37th St., New York, pp.	FF7 60
/	Dr. H. A. Overstreet, College of	55/-00
	the City of New York, pp.	rr7_8
	Dr. I. S. D. Hamilton, Uni. of	33/-0
	North Carolina, Chapel Hill, p.	r r Q
	Dr. Felix Adler, New York, p.	
/	William Lyon Phelps, Yale Uni-	220
	_ ·	558-9
	C. J. H. Hayes, Columbia Uni-	330 9
		559
	Nathan C. Schaeffer, Harrisburg,	339
		560
		560
	Mrs. F. F. Williams, New York	J
	•	560
		-

## AWAKE! AMERICA

		Marion T. Bobbitt, New York		
		City	p.	<b>560</b>
		Mary C. Percey, New York City,	p.	560
		Margaret Loring Thomas, New		
		York City,	p.	560
		Edward B. Rawson, New York		
		City,	p.	560
		Walter W. Haviland, Philadel-		
		phia,	p.	560
G		Mary W. Williams, Soucher Col-		
		lege, Baltimore, Md.,	p.	560
		Benj. E. Rockwell, New York		
		City,	p.	560
	~	Prof. Edward Cheyney, Uni-		_
		versity of Pennsylvania,	pp.	571-8
		Dr. George Walton, George		. 0. 0
		School, Pa.,	pp.	578-80
		Mrs. Glendower Evans, Boston,		-0- 0-
		Mass., Name Varia	pp.	500-02
		Owen R. Lovejoy, New York		<b>-0</b> 2 <b>9</b> 2
		City,	PP.	502-09
		Post," (President),	nn.	r80-06
		J. H. Maurer, Pres. Penna. State	PP.	209-90
		Federation of Labor,	nn.	507-607
		John J. Mullowney, Harrisburg,	PP.	397 007
		Pa.,	D.	607
		Laura C. Williams, Washington,	Ρ.	/
		D. C	p.	608
		Margery Hughes Rockwell,		
		Brooklyn, N. Y.,	p.	608
		Seventy telegrams and letters of	-	

	like tone were received from 70	
	persons named on pp.	608-9
Jan. 16.	Philip Scahefer, Chicago, Ill., pp.	611-24
	Carol Aronovici, Philadelphia,	
	Pa.,pp.	624-9
•	Alexander L. Trachtenburg, New	
	York City, pp.	629-38
	W. B. Harvey, West Town, Pa., pp.	
	Amos Pinchot, "Am. Union	
	Against Militarism," pp.	643-49
_	Frank Bohn, New York City, pp.	649-58
	Simon O. Pollock, New York	
	City,pp.	658–63
	Elisha B. Steer, Salem, Ohio, pp.	663-4
~	Frederick W. Kelsey, Orange,	
	N. J., pp.	664-8
Jan. 17.	H. J. Browne, Washington, D. C., pp.	669-74
Jan. 18.	Dr. Thomas Fell, University of	
٠	Maryland, Annapolis, pp.	697-705
Jan. 20.	John A. McSparran, National	
	Grange Secretary, pp.	<i>773</i> –83
Jan. 25.	Mrs. Josephine R. Hallinan, Chi-	
	cago, Ill.,pp.	
	Dr. George Nasmyth, p.	951

The Chamberlain bill was supported by a group of experts and strong men like General Leonard Wood, Gen. Hugh L. Scott, Col. W. G. Brown, Edward Harding (of the Universal Military Training League), Howard H. Gross, U. M. T. League of Chicago, Col. Stephen M. Foote, Col. Charles D. Rhodes, Dr. Lucien Howe (National Association of Military Service), Dr.

James F. Mitchell, Dr. Hugh Hampton Young, Capt. George V. H. Moseley, Maj. W. C. Harllee, Dr. David Jayne Hill (American Defense Society), Giles B. Jackson (for military training of colored men), Archibald M. Ray, J. Finley Wilson, Herbert Barry (National Security League), and Capt. Matthew E. Hanna.

Various other persons favored the bill, because of its possibilities for physical culture, and for other reasons.

Opposition to Plans for the Creation of a Reserve Army.— On January 18, 1916, which was very early in the game, and long before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs had even formulated a bill for the purpose named above, there appeared before the Committee, in quick opposition to the idea, the following persons:

O. G. Villard, of the "Evening Post, New York; Miss Florence Kelley, and Miss Sara Bard Field, of San Francisco.

On February 8, 1917, there appeared before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, in opposition to preparedness, Miss Lillian D. Wald, Chmn. Anti-Preparedness Committee, New York, and Frank Donnblazer, of Pennsylvania who represented the Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union of America.

I wonder just how much those farmers are to blame for a year's prolongation of this war, and the tens of thousands of Italian soldiers slaughtered in October and November, 1917, on the Isonzo, on the Bainshazza Plateau and the Piave! I hold that if we had been READY TO FIGHT as we should have been, on April 6, 1917, the Russian collapse and the German success in Italy never would have occurred.

## Organizations of Blind Guides, and Others

Out of the hurry of the hour I have noted only the names of those that have come to my notice, and have made no real search for pacifist, slacker or disloyal organizations. When I list all those found immediately below merely under the head of "blind guides," I am treating some of them altogether more leniently than they deserve!

The one first named really is Number 1! It was organized in New York on Dec. 18, 1914, thus antedating both the National Security League and the American Defense Society.

League for the Limitation of Armaments, New York. National Collegiate Anti-Militarism League (of Socialists?) New York.

Fellowship of Reconciliation, New York.

Friends National Peace Committee, Philadelphia.

League for Democratic Control, Boston.

Emergency Peace Committee of Mass., Boston.

Woman's Peace Party, Chicago.

International Welfare Brotherhood, or "Migratory Workers of the World!" St. Louis.

Emergency Peace Federation, Labor People's Mass Meeting, of April 1, 1917, Kansas City.

Of the above organizations, all save the first in the list were strongly represented on April 21, 1917, before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, in bitter opposition to conscription. I am convinced that the above brief list is only a mere beginning of the complete list that should be made. It is time to know precisely where every organization stands regarding the support of our government.

## Menacing Organizations

THE PEOPLE'S COUNCIL OF AMERICA, or BOLSHEVIKI of AMERICA. 138 W. 13th St., N. Y. WOMEN'S PEACE PARTY. New York.

THE UNION AGAINST MILITARISM, Washington, D. C.

THE PEOPLE'S HOUSE (for soap-box orators and their kind) 7 E. 15th St., N. Y.

THE SINN FEINER OUTFIT.

CIRCOLA STUDI SOCIALI, (Pro-German-Italian anarchistic), Seattle.

THE I. W. W. GANG, which needs no description here.

The above is a very incomplete list. What the public needs is a Who's Who of Disloyalty!

## The People's Council

When the "People's Council," or Bolsheviki of America, ever seeking to drive a wedge between the United States and our Allies and secure a Germantriumph peace, proposed to hold a great convention of pacifists in Minneapolis, the people wondered what the Men of Minnesota would do about it. The answer was not long in coming. The Minnesota door was slammed shut and bolted before the Council got there. Next, the People's Council was kicked out of Fargo, and all North Dakota. Following that, Chicago refused to permit the Council to meet there. The national headquarters (at 138 West 13th Street, New York) is busily establishing local and state councils, and getting ready for big business. Go to sleep

on that, Americans! The enemy will be pleased to fan you. And you will deserve what you ultimately will get.

Note well these sentiments of leaders of the People's Council:

#### "Government of the people, by the people, for the people"

#### THE PEOPLE'S COUNCIL OF AMERICA FOR DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
SORRIS MILLOUT, New York
JAMES N. HANDER, PERMOTYNAMA
JACOG PARREM, New York
WILLIAM C. REINTER, SOUTH DARREM
STORES E. ROCKES, Jr., MARRAMMER
RESCAS SHELLY, MERINAM
WILLIAM SOOT, CALVERNAM

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS\*

138 WEST 13TH STREET NEW YORK CITY SCOTT NEARING CHAIRMAN

EXECUTIVE SECRETARE

TELEPHONE. CHELSEA 92000

At a meeting of the American Bolsheviki, held in Madison Square Garden on November 25, under the chairmanship of Morris Hillquit, members of the Executive Committee of the "People's Council," one speaker, A. J. Shiplacoff, candidate for the Assembly, openly exulted over the fact that he would have assistance "in the job of throwing monkey-wrenches into the machinery," and declared: "Our program is sabotage. We intend to do all the damage possible." And Mr. Shiplacoff's first public act in the New York legislature was in taking the lead of the nine other socialist members in throwing monkey-wrenches into the machinery, for which he was hooted and "booed" by the Assembly.

"Our purpose is to crystallize in this country sentiment similar to the aims of the Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates." — Louis P. Lochner, Executive Secretary, P. C.

"The Russian people rule, and Russia has done more

than any other nation to repudiate the war." — Scott Nearing, Chairman P. C.

"It is hoped that our People's Council will voice the peace will of America as unmistakable and effectively (!!) as the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates is speaking for Russia." — Pamphlet published by the People's Council.

Inasmuch as the People's Council really and openly is the Bolsheviki of America, and driving ahead to gain in power here, it is well worth while for every American to know its foundation principles at first hand. I know of no one document in which they are so clearly or so authoritatively stated as in the following document, copied from the New York "Times" of November 18, 1917.

## Bolshevik Catechism from Lenine's Pen

By Abraham Yarmolinsky, Instructor in Russian at the College of the City of New York.

The following attempt to formulate the platform of the socialistic faction which calls itself the Communistic Party, but which is commonly known as "Bolsheviki," is based on a pamphlet on the political parties in Russia, written by Nikolai Lenine, the Radicals' Premier of Russia. It is presented in the form of questions and answers, and the wording closely follows that of Lenine.

- Q.— What social class do we represent?
- A.— We represent the class-conscious proletaries, hired laborers, and the poorer portion of the rural population.
- Q.— What is our attitude toward socialism?
- A.— We stand for socialism. The Workmen's Councils must at once take the necessary practical steps for the realization of the socialistic program. They must immediately take over the control of the banks and capitalistic syndicates, with a view to nationalizing them; that is, making them the property of the whole people.
- Q.—What form of State organization do we advo-
- A.— We advocate a republic of Councils of Workmen, Soldiers, Peasants, etc. All the power must belong to them.
- Q.—Should we support the Provisional Government?
- A.— No. Let the capitalists support it. Our aim is to make the councils the only authority and power in the country.
- Q.— Is it necessary to convoke the Constituent Assembly?
- A.— Yes, and as soon as possible. The guarantee of its success lies in the growth of the councils in number and power, and in the arming of the masses of workmen.
- Q.— Does the State need a police force of the usual type and a standing army?
- A.— Not at all. The people must be made synonymous with the army and militia. The capital-

- ists must pay the workmen for their service in the militia.
- Q.— Should the army officers be elected by the soldiers?
- A.—Yes. Furthermore, every step of the officers and Generals must be verified by special deputies from the soldiers.
- Q.— Should the soldiers oust their superiors without authority?
- A.— Yes. This is useful and necessary in every respect. The soldiers only obey and respect the authorities they elect.
- Q.— Are we against this war?
- A.— Yes, we are. We are emphatically against this imperialistic war and the bourgeois Governments conducting it, our own Provisional Government included.
- Q.— What is our attitude toward the predatory international treaties (about the dismemberment of Persia, China, Turkey, Austria, etc.) made by the Czar with England and France?
- A.— We are against them. It is our task to make it plain to the masses that it is hopeless to expect anything in this respect from the capitalistic Governments, and that it is necessary to transfer the power to the proletariat and the poorer element among the peasants.
- Q.— What is our attitude toward annexations?
- A.— We are against them. All the promises of the capitalistic Governments to renounce annexations are false. There is but one means to expose the fraud, namely, to demand the emanci-

- pation of the people, oppressed by their own capitalists.
- Q.—What is our attitude toward the Liberty Loan?
- A.—We are against it, for the war remains imperialistic, waged by capitalists, allied to capitalists for the interest of capitalists.
- Q.— Can the capitalistic Governments body forth the will of the nations to peace?
- A.— No. Conscious workmen cherish no illusions on this score.
- Q.—Should all monarchs be deposed?
- A.—Yes.
- Q.— Should the peasants immediately take possession of the private lands?
- A.—Yes, the land must be seized immediately. Strict order should be established through the agency of the Councils of Peasants' Deputies. The production of bread and meat should be increased, for the soldiers must be better fed. The damaging of cattle, implements, etc., cannot be allowed. It is necessary to organize the poor peasants and the agricultural laborers.
- Q.— Should the fraternization at the front be encouraged?
- A.—Yes. This is both useful and necessary. It is absolutely necessary immediately to encourage attempts at fraternizing between the soldiers of the two belligerent sides.
- Q.— What color is our flag?
- A.— Red, for the red flag is the flag of the universal proletarian revolution.

If the "American Union Against Militarism" is not a thoroughly pro-German and disloyal organization, then there never was one of that kind in America. Its guiding spirit is Max Eastman, the alien type of socialist who was editor of that disloyal magazine called "The Masses" until it was suppressed by the government.

The "People's House" in New York, at 7 East 15th Street, is the club house and propaganda center of the alien socialists and soap-box orators of New York and vicinity, who oppose the war, oppose conscription, oppose teaching patriotism in the public schools, won't buy Liberty bonds, and want peace at any price. They are backed by plenty of capital, and they are spending thousands of dollars in fitting up a fine club house, auditorium, baths and ample business offices for unlimited propaganda.

Now the alien socialists propose to capture New York at the next election for Mayor; and their chances to win are really quite good.

Go off and play golf, you "capitalistic class," while your enemies plot and work to destroy you!

Now that this nation is at war, there are in America only two kinds of people,—the loyal and the disloyal. There is no neutral ground, no neutral class. Any man who now attempts to occupy neutral ground is disloyal! It is time to find out the status of every man and every woman. It is time to drive out the passive traitors, and hang those that are active. Those that curse our allies, and especially those that curse England, are playing the game in aid of the kaiser. They are traitors to the cause of human freedom, and the traitor's fate should be theirs.

This war has risen far above the ordinary war level. It is a crusade for human rights, and the liberty and protection of mankind. Any man who says "it is a capitalists' war" speaks falsely, and is a dangerous person. Any man who advocates peace without ample reparation to ruined and raped Belgium and northern France is a traitor to the cause of humanity, and no right-minded man should retain him as a friend.

If Germany wins a peace without having to pay for her crimes,— with her colonies and her cash,— she wins the war, she defeats democracy and the cause of human rights, and the cause of Christian civilization is set back 200 years.

I warn the President, his Cabinet and every member of Congress to beware of the Hun's sympathizers and allies who presently will deluge them with machinemade telegrams, paid for with German money, begging and bullying for "immediate peace," "without annexations or indemnities,"—a peace made in Germany, which if made will with absolute certainty hatch out another batch of dragon's eggs within another ten years.

#### CHAPTER XIV

# The Degradation of Three National Ideals

## I. The Anarchist Fetich Called "Free Speech"

America contains many sawdust idols and fake ideals. One of them is "free speech"; and another is "personal liberty."

It is high time that the "free speech" fetich, now grown more ugly and more dangerous in influence than any Congo-negro idol, should be kicked off its pedestal and buried out of sight.

For free love, anarchy, sedition and treason there is no such thing in America as "free speech"; and there never will be. If we actually had free speech in this country, the living could not take care of the wounded and bury the dead. One-fourth of the population would be driven out of the country, and another fourth would be put in jail.

Honest, decent and law-abiding citizens are not the ones who stand on soap-boxes or go prancing up and down the sidewalks yelling for "free speech." Put the acid test to the shouter for "free speech" and nine times out of ten you will find a chronic kicker and disturber of the peace, or an anarchist from the slums of Europe. The decent citizen knows that as such he is quite at liberty to express his honest opinion of the government, of public measures, and of most men in

the public eye. It is only the men who utter lies, calumny and sedition, and preach the doctrine of property seizure, the torch and the bomb, who are so vociferous about "free speech."

No. "Speech" in the United States is not "free" to disloyal men or women, native or alien. Most decidedly not. If it ever becomes so, all decent people will need to emigrate to Borneo, or some other island inhabited by decent savages, in order to live in peace and security, and find happiness.

Unless I greatly mistake the signs of the times, the American people are going to feel some heavy jolts, and that too in the near future. The follies of the past fifty years, like curses and chickens, are coming home to roost. We have made American citizenship and national hospitality to undesirable aliens so fearfully cheap that now we find ourselves beset by a lot of human cobras, vipers and rattlesnakes that are setting out to drive us out of house and home. Thanks to our own foolishness and lack of moral stamina, we have created here in America a Bolsheviki far more dangerous than that of stupid and besotted Russia; because we ourselves have educated it, fostered it, put it upon its feet, and put deadly weapons in its hands.

I refer to I. W. W.ism, Alien Socialism, Bolshevikism and the lawless elements of organized and unorganized labor.

If the American people are going to be at all slow in waking up to a realization of this danger, then they may indeed look for bloody episodes at no very distant day. Do you doubt this? Do you think it silly or visionary? If so, let me tell you that already in public meetings the Emma Goldmans and the Elmer Rosenbergs are talking about a "revolution," with all that such a development involves. Take a parallel case:

Thirty-one years ago the stupid people of Chicago permitted the undesirable alien anarchists of that city to indulge in real free speech! They lectured and wrote about the desirability of blowing property and people to pieces with bombs. They advocated the use of the torch, and they printed papers and pamphlets telling precisely how to make bombs with gas-pipe, and set them off. Although I was then a young man, I felt quite certain about the final result.

The result was "the Haymarket massacre," of seven policemen; and a little later the hanging of four of its most active perpetrators, and the long imprisonment of three more.

If the people of Chicago had not been soundly and stupidly asleep on their jobs, those seven murders might most easily have been averted. If at the right time about ten of those plotters had been landed in the penitentiary at Joliet, and kept there at hard labor for five years, the anarchists of Chicago would have done no murders.

Let New York take the warning from Chicago.

## II. The Horrible Cheapening of Citizenship

This painful topic is far too broad to be handled in a single chapter. For its adequate treatment an entire volume would be none too much. We will touch only two or three high points that thrust up into the foreground so prominently that we cannot wholly ignore them.

The anxiety of some Americans to get the greatest possible number of aliens to come to America, and to

rush those aliens into citizenship as fast as possible, utterly regardless of their moral, mental or intellectual value, is both astounding and disgusting. Assuredly, in this line of industry we are the craziest fools on earth.

To-day approximately one-seventh of the population of our country is alien born, with a heavy percentage of that mass ignorant of American ideals and institutions, and more loyal to the land of their birth than to America. Germany in particular always has done her very utmost to maintain her iron grip on all Americans of German descent.

Every year about 500,000 aliens become voting "citizens" of the United States, entitled to be cared for in our hospitals, insane asylums and jails, and to have their children educated in our best schools, free of all expense to them. And if little Ivan Mankowski is crowded in school, up goes the yell for "more schools," and the city government concerned is blackguarded to the blue-sky limit.

It now has come to such a pass that in many American cities the balance of political power is held by the alien born voter! In such American cities as Schenectady and Milwaukee, the alien socialist voter has before now secured complete control, and in dozens of other cities the aliens are reaching for it. No candidate for Congress, or for a state legislature, where laws are made, now dares to stand up and fight any bunch of alien voters, no matter how much they may need to be put in their place. The aliens know right well how to combine and knife American candidates for office who are likely to curb them by law.

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And now here in New York, what is the first task

that the female suffrage managers have set for themselves?

It is to bring about the "naturalizing" of about 40,000 of the ignorant alien women of New York City, so that they can be made useful at the polls!

Just as if those 40,000 could be influenced by Americans to vote independently of, or in opposition to, their 40,000 alien husbands!

# III. The Abuse of Personal Liberty

Perhaps it was from the first inevitable that in a country professedly "the land of the free," liberty should quickly degenerate into license. At all events, that actually is to be counted as a conspicuous "American" development. There are, so far as we are aware, no people on earth who are so disobedient of orders, so resentful of conduct rules and so ready to defy authority as the people of the United States, native and alien. I think there is no other city in America wherein dangerous and brutal mobs gather so quickly and so thickly as in New York City.

Here, a number of schools once were mobbed by stupidly ignorant and savage mothers who had heard a rumor that "the city doctors are going to gouge the eyes out of all the children!" The basis of that movement was an examination of the children's eyes for traces of contageous eye diseases. And think of the wide-spread "strikes" and rioting of the poor, foolish school children of New York, involving 40 or 50 schools, in October, 1917—for what? Against "the Gary system" of teaching in the public schools,—an extra fine education, if you please.

For twenty years it has been a fairly common occur-

rence for a policeman escorting a murderer to a police station to be set upon by a huge mob of the murderer's countrymen, and beaten and kicked to the limit of human endurance.

The present war will do one great and good thing for the young men of America. It will teach them the enormous value of discipline, it will teach them to take orders, and to obey them cheerfully for the good of all. It will teach them the folly of trying to be too independent in this world. It will teach them the great virtue of loyal obedience to necessary authority. In millions of cases, good mental discipline and the ability to obey an order instantly, saves life! Many a man has lost his life through being a fool about obeying instructions.

Wake up, Americans! Consider where you are. You are surrounded by snakes that in your folly you have taken in out of the cold, warmed at your fireside, and that now are all ready to strike you and your children.

Consider your children, even if you are too careless or too stupid to care about yourself. Remember that the socialistic snakes of America love to teach school! That is their best-loved occupation; because it is clean and easy, well paid, and gives them fine opportunities to instill their poisonous doctrines in the minds of American boys and girls.

Are you satisfied to have the fountains of knowledge of your boy and girl poisoned by Russian Bolshevik socialists, such as those who now are dragging Russia through the mud and filth of anarchy?

At this moment, New York City's Board of Education is cleaning house, not of socialistic teachers, but of disloyal teachers. This should be merely the beginning of the uprooting of alien socialism from these schools, root, stem and branch; for by that step alone will all the snakes be scotched and their poison eliminated.

Americans, make up your minds **NOW** that unless we awake and get busy we are going to have serious trouble with the reptiles under our national hearthstones. At the very least we should prepare to meet it when it comes. Unless it is averted by strong State Constabulary forces like those of Pennsylvania and New York, there will be bombings, and fires, and riots, and bloodshed galore.

Let us as a nation not play the sleepy fool as Chicago did in 1886. Do you ask how we are to avoid it? I will tell you:

Elect no alien type socialists to public offices of any kind.

Appoint none to fill public offices.

Whenever a socialist candidate sets himself up for election to office, all Americans, regardless of their regular party affiliations, should combine to defeat him.

Never allow an alien-born socialist to teach in any public school, or in any college or university faculty.

Never tolerate any speaker or writer who advocates, either privately or publicly, the confiscation of property, the "division of property," sabotage, or violence of any kind.

Instantly clap into jail any speaker or writer who, like Elmer Rosenberg, or Emma Goldman of New York, talks about a "revolution" in America, or "fighting for free speech."

Treat every I. W. W. member as a dangerous menace to the public welfare.

I will not say that I have no hope that these precautions against trouble will be taken; or that regarding this whole matter I am absolutely certain that the great American Sleeper will sleep on until his roof is blown off, and his bed is blown from under him by the dangerous and criminal elements in our country. But there is danger unless WE WAKE UP!!

The Opportunity of American Teachers.—Out of the welter of carelessness, somnolence, blundering and treachery in which this nation now is wallowing like a nation struggling through a swamp, certain facts shine before us like fixed stars of hope.

The American free school system now is a vast and powerful machine for good or for evil.

We know that so far as the teaching of pure patriotism and good citizenship is concerned, not more than fifty per cent, of its capacity for the development of Americanism has been developed. Due to a well-nigh universal lack of foresight on the part of boards of education, the teachers of America never have been mobilized for this campaign. Consequently, for fifty years the teachers of America have been sleeping on their opportunities, and in this field of endeavor much of their power is latent.

Next to the press of America, the teachers of America are the greatest Power in our land for the creation of new Americanism by the teaching of high-grade appreciation of America, patriotism, loyalty, opposition to the deadly follies of socialism and I. W. W.ism, a belief in fighting for national honor, and a belief in

service to our country, military and naval as well as civil.

Is there in any American school even one text book which categorically teaches these principles of Americanism? If there is, show it to me.

Give any authority a chance to impose upon the teachers of America a line of Americanism teaching, and in ten years they will give this nation twenty million young men who will stand like 20,000,000 rocks in its defense against foes without and traitors within.

## CHAPTER XV

## Spots on the Sun

It is not true that "every cloud has a silver lining."

No. Some have not even a nickel-plated lining.

There are many clouds that are nothing but solid gloom and darkness, until they roll away.

A certain percentage of humanity loves optimism, and joyously hates the truth-telling pessimist. The man who bravely tries to look into a gloomy future is classed as a "croaker" and a "calamity-howler"—two names that sensitive men shy at.

For all that, however, the future of our country now contains so many doubts and dangers that we would be fatuous cowards not to face them squarely, and "dig in" to the best of our ability. In times like these we may indeed, with Patrick Henry, judge the Future by the Past.

The Present Trouble is the greatest that this Nation has faced since Valley Forge. Our civil war was child's play in comparison with what this one with the Huns is now, and will be before it is finished. And after peace is declared,— what?

The President and the Awake People of the United States now realize, fully, that this is really another crusade for human liberty and the rights of man. It is not merely a punitive expedition against a lot of rabid wolves and wolverines. This is the world's



THE RUSSIAN "BEAR" TO-DAY
The logical result of Russian Socialism and German Treachery.
Sid Green in the N. Y. "Evening Telegram."

greatest contest between brutal Might and eternal Right.

It is futile to try to guess when it will end; but since the Russian slump and the Italian retirement in northern Italy we know, to a fair certainty, that it will hardly end before midsummer in 1919, at the very earliest. Had we been ready on April 6, 1917, this war would have ended by the defeat of Germany on land and sea by July 1, 1918! But alas! for Sleepy America! And alas! for her Allies!

We know that about 51 per cent. of the burden of winning is now upon us. As Americans, we "guess" that we can carry it!

We know that at the very least 2,500,000 men will be called for from America, and that we have got to furnish them.

No one knows the extent, or the thoroughness, with which alien socialism is going to disorganize organized labor in the United States and in England during the next two years, and hamper our war efforts. We are in greater danger from foes within, which Col. Roosevelt so aptly calls "The Foes of Our Own Household," than from foes without.

At this moment the alien Rand School of Socialism, with excellent terminal facilities in New York, is hard at work, day and night, capitalizing the spirit of greed and unrest that springs eternal in the breasts of those who wish to get rich quick, and roll in luxury at some other fellow's expense. They have loads of printed matter, plenty of postage, plenty of clerical help, and at the first nibble of interest in any crossroad hamlet, or village or town outside of New York, the nibbler is urged to "start a branch organization,"

The foes of Preparedness, The American "Pacifist," The Sleepy Americans,

The ignorant and greedy The Bolshevik Anarchists, In Russia soldier,

equal | Abandonment of Riga. The ignorant and greedy The German spies, and The Russian pro-Germans, Official Incompetence, workman,

plus

Death of Russian honor. Death of Russian credit. Army.

Death of the Russian

In Europe

Death, Destruction, and Two more Years of War. and Italy.

The Russian Pacifists,

troops to fight in France

General Procrastination, Unreadiness

in

and

The Alien Socialists, The German spies,

The pro-Germans,

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1917,

and then join the "state organization," and so on. Flushed with an increase of 112,000 votes in New York in four years, the Hillquit crowd seeks more worlds to conquer. They hail the New York victory for female suffrage as a victory for them! And they intend to capitalize the female vote at a par value of 100. They are perfectly correct in thinking that female suffrage will greatly help their cause! It is quite true! The women of the classes that breed alien socialists are far, far more zealous and self-sacrificing politicians than are the women of any other political party! He who doubts this wrongs himself. It is history.

As sure as this world is to-day rolling, alien socialism in America already is a force to be reckoned with. Like a field of thistles it will spread and spread. Four years from November, 1917, the Democrats and Republicans of New York, and many other cities, will either bury their hatchets and combine against alien socialism, or see the Hillquits of Riga clamber into the saddle and grasp the reins of Power, which they dearly love but never know how to use!

The farmers' Non-Partisan League, born in North Dakota and managed by a very shrewd manipulator, is of native birth, but with habits like an octopus. Its creed is,—\$3 a bushel for wheat, and to hell with the consumer! This precious lamb of the Northwest will grow more or less, and raise some Cain. The I. W. W. gang has welcomed it with open arms, and already they have held one joint convention, in Fargo, N. Dakota, with tightly closed doors.

A full-throated, brass-bound yell for peace will go up immediately after the first great battle in which American troops figure conspicuously and suffer severely. The cry will come not from the fathers and mothers of the boys in khaki, but from the socialist, the professional pacifists and the pro-Germans who early and late strike to aid Germany and hinder America.

That organized labor will do its full duty, in a true spirit of loyalty and devotion, we sincerely believe. To-day its spirit alternately blows hot and cold. In England, after much trouble and many threatenings, Labor has seen what wicked folly it would be to play into the hands of Liberty's one great enemy, and it has taken up its cross, to carry it to the end of the war. By the end of the war, both in England and America, the habit of thinking and acting sanely for the greatest good of the greatest number, may possibly lead to safe and sane solutions of the many very serious after-war problems that will arise. There is, however, great danger that the extremely high wages in America, of the war period, will cause many troubles after the war when those wages, like water, are flowing back to their natural levels, and war inflation comes to a natural end.

There are three great factors that will go far toward removing the spots from our sun, and on them we can confidently rely (1) for the winning of the war, (2) for the promotion of a peace settlement that will do justice to the robbed, outraged and murdered nations, and (3) the promotion of a post-war settlement of our economic troubles here at home. They are: The sound common sense of the American majority; The patriotism of 95 per cent. of the American people, and

The Press of America, which is 99 1-2 per cent. fine. These powerful,— nay, these irresistible influences, we well may count as the major portion of our national wealth. No matter what untoward thing happens, on them we can rely!

No matter how long this war may last, the Entente Allies,—finally including the United States,—must win it, thoroughly and unequivocally. The Allies hold trump cards that will take the Last Trick! The Hun is not yet beaten, and it will take at least two more years of defeats and losses to make the Leper of Potsdam admit defeat, accept it, and pay the price of a lost war.

We have put our hands to the Plow, and our Leader in Washington has vowed before the People that the furrow shall be turned to a victorious end. We firmly believe that end will be about as follows:

\$5,000,000,000 indemnity must, in one form or another, be paid to Belgium.

\$5,000,000,000 indemnity must be paid to France.

Alsace and Lorraine must go back to France.

Australia and New Zealand will keep all colonies captured by them.

The Germans will give up East and South-West Africa, as part pay for destroyed merchantmen, and for humane reasons.

Italy will get Trieste and Gorizia.

Portugal will get Togoland and the German Cameroons.

Japan will keep Kiaochow and all eastern Siberia. Turkey will lose Armenia, Palestine and Mesopotamia.

Germany and Turkey will get no "most favored nation" treaties.

America, England and France will spurn and boycott German trade for at least 25 years,—not merely to punish the Huns, but because the Huns are so loathsome and repulsive.

Already the Huns have taken over nearly all of Russia that is worth having, but before long the Leper of Potsdam will realize that his Russian holdings are a Dead Sea apple. Nevertheless, Germany's treatment of helpless Russia is a raw object lesson for civilized nations, all over the world. At this juncture it is interesting to see Hun Rapacity at work on a great nation.

Russia is in a bad way,—thanks to Bolshevik Socialism. The greatest punishment that the civilized nations can inflict upon her is to let her alone, and let her tear her own flesh, and suck her own blood.

The loyal people of America must ruthlessly suppress all disloyalty, expressed or implied, overt or latent. Then, the war and its burdens must be taken calmly, steadily, manfully, as coming "all in the day's work." With the magnificent examples of Belgium, France, England, Servia, Italy and Montenegro before us, we can do no less than they.

President Wilson has said that we throw the whole American nation into the scale. We rejoice that this is literally true. This being true, what chance has the Hun and the Turk,—bloody partners in a colossal crime,—of winning this war?

## **AWAKE! AMERICA**

THE END

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